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# ENGLISH AMERICA :

OR

## PICTURES OF CANADIAN PLACES AND PEOPLE.

BY

SAMUEL PHILLIPS DAY,

Author of "Down South ; or Experiences at the Seat of War  
in America," etc., etc.

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# ENGLISH AMERICA.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE VOYAGE OUT.

Embarkation—Arrival at Moville—A “Black Fast” in Londonderry—Singularity-shaped Icebergs—Breaking of an Engine—Scenery round Cape Gaspé—Peaks and Perils of the St. Lawrence.

ON the 6th of May, 1862, I embarked from Liverpool for Quebec, in the *Hibernian*, one of the Montreal Ocean Steam-Ship Company's vessels. Her appointments were excellent, while her magnificent saloon and large, lofty state-rooms are, I may safely say, unrivalled. Such advantages, apart from a plentiful if not a luxurious table, can scarcely be overrated during a voyage even of twelve days' duration. Upon leaving the Mersey we had about forty cabin and over two hundred steerage passengers. Most of the latter belonged to the better class of emigrants.

The day was calm and bright—the noble river smooth as crystal ; and these benignant aspects of nature seemed to be sympathetically imparted to every one on board.

Early next morning we reached Moville, on the Irish coast, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. As the *Hibernian* would be detained for some hours, owing to the embarkation of some one hundred additional emigrants, a few saloon passengers, including myself, took advantage of a steamer that came along-side and crossed over to Londonderry. The landlord of the principal hotel, where we took breakfast, kindly placed his private jaunting-car at our disposal, and directed the driver to conduct us to the beautiful new Cemetery a few miles from the city. We were very thankful for such an exhibition of politeness and unaffected good nature, especially as the trip proved a pleasant one. The town wore a miserably dull aspect, as if it were doing penance in sackcloth and ashes ! Most of the shops were closed, and the window-blinds were drawn down in private houses. Few persons passed in the streets, except ragged urchins and professional beggars, whose doleful whines and doltish importunities it were difficult to resist. I thought that the Mayor, or some other great functionary, must certainly have been dead, and

that the attached citizens adopted these modes of giving expression to their grief. On no other grounds could I account for the direful appearances that presented themselves on every hand. Upon inquiry, however, I ascertained, with some degree of mortification, that the day happened to be observed as a "black fast" among the Presbyterians. Having returned to our hotel, shaken hands with our worthy host, and made a pilgrimage around the famous walls of Derry, we re-embarked, bidding adieu to the fair Green Isle which has given birth to poets, philosophers, and orators, who will be honoured through all time, and whose names will never cease to be associated with our literature.

The *Hibernian* soon again got under weigh. In steaming out of Loch Foyle, I noticed a handsome mansion belonging to Mr. Mc Cormack, the Irish railway contractor, whose speculations have proved so successful. The arrangements on board for such a numerous living freight were excellent. Shortly after we left the Irish coast, we experienced a protracted and stormy passage; our brave vessel encountering head winds and high cross seas almost uninterruptedly. A few accidents occurred in the shape of broken arms and dislocated shoulders, which were immediately attended to by the surgeon. While off

Cape Race we passed numerous icebergs, some of which assumed fantastic shapes. One had the appearance of an ecclesiastical edifice partially in ruins, and towered to the height of four hundred feet. Another could scarcely be distinguished at a distance from a ship in full sail. The proximity to icebergs can generally be ascertained by the temperature of the sea-water, which accordingly is frequently tested in the foggy regions of the Newfoundland banks. It is these icebergs, together with field-ice, that render the passage across the Atlantic so perilous at certain seasons of the year, when the ice begins to break up in Northern latitudes.

We had just cleared Cape Ray, and were about five hundred and fifty miles from our destination, when, to add to the other miseries and dangers of the voyage, one of the ship's engines became disabled. Eight weary hours had elapsed before the machinery could be detached or we could get under weigh again, during which time we drifted many miles towards the coast. This was a period of great anxiety to the captain, the officers, and indeed to all on board. Our suspense was partially relieved by having sighted a steamer a-head, which, upon being signalled, bore down to our assistance in case of danger. This vessel proved to be the *Jura*, one of the Montreal Ocean

Company's fleet, which steamed round the *Hibernian* until she was enabled to resume her voyage. Fortunately this un-looked-for accident did not occur on the previous day, while the vessel was in the neighbourhood of icebergs, or possibly the *Hibernian* (with over five hundred souls on board) might have drifted against one and gone to pieces, while none of her numerous passengers or crew would have survived to record the tale.

From Cape Gaspé up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, a distance of five hundred miles, the view was quite imposing. The numerous villages extending all along the coast, presented the appearance of one immense encampment; for the wooden cottages and log farm-houses, painted white, glistened in the sun, and very much resembled interminable rows of tents.

The magnificence and boldness of the scenery can scarcely be surpassed. Vast undulating mountains, densely covered with the growth of centuries, raise their kingly crests on either side of the tortuous river, inspiring the beholder with the highest impressions of the beautiful. The villages and hamlets are exclusively inhabited by French Canadians, some of whom are possessed of considerable means. The majority, however, are poor. A more energetic race may have further

peopled the desolate waste, penetrated further across the mountains into the forests, and further reclaimed the earth. Nevertheless, they have not been idle ; and the habitations of men, and the evidences of Christianity and her civilizing influences, are not wanting.

The St. Lawrence is a noble river, although its navigation is difficult and dangerous. Its greatest breadth is seventy-eight miles, but it narrows into a channel of three-quarters of a mile broad at Quebec. The valley through which it flows is enclosed by mountains on either side. Fifty miles northwards the country has been but little explored, and is covered with immense impenetrable forests. These wastes will possibly one day be opened up by the indomitable energy of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Rife with picturesque grandeur and melancholy interest, and rich in legendary lore, is the Lower St. Lawrence. Upon entering the Gulf two huge rocks, called the Bird Rocks, attract attention. These are upwards of one hundred feet high, and their flat, narrow summits assume a resplendent whiteness. Several descriptions of birds have taken up their abode in apertures formed in these perpendicular cliffs, such as the gannet, the puffin, three species of guillemots, and the razor-billed auks. Then there is Egg Island, memorable on

account of the total destruction of the English Armada, in 1711, under Admiral Walker, upon attempting the invasion of Canada. Not less remarkable is the Island of Anticosta, lying exactly in mid-channel, on whose inaccessible shores the notorious pirate, Garnache, for many years made his home, and which has been the scene of numerous shipping disasters, the latest in November, 1861. Percé Rock, L'Islet au Massacre, and Cap au Diable, have been rendered prominent by the dark and cruel deeds once enacted thereupon, giving rise to a number of legends concerning apparitions, in which sailors, proverbially superstitious, and the neighbouring fishermen, repose implicit faith.

At length, after a severe and tedious passage of thirteen days, we arrived on the hospitable shores of English America, to the inexpressible delight of everybody, to none more so than myself.



## CHAPTER II.

## QUEBEC.

The Capital of Canada—Historical Memories—The Marine Hospital—A Chapter of Accidents—Fêtes d'Obligation—The Shipping Trade—Legend of the "Hermitage."

ON the western shore of the St. Lawrence lies Quebec, the oldest city in Canada, on a neck of land bounded by that river on the east, and on the north by the St. Charles. On the south side the mountain on which the city is built rises considerably, extending for miles in a westerly direction. Viewed either from an historical or a picturesque stand-point, it possesses an interest accorded to no other city on the American continent, and being the military key to North America endows it with additional importance as a strategic position for defensive operations.

The original title of what is now United Canada was, in official parlance, termed the Province of Quebec, just as under French rule it was denomi-

nated *Nouvelle France*. Towards the close of the last century the appellation of province was divided between Upper and Lower Canada. In 1841, or thereabouts, these Provinces became re-united, when they were authoritatively designated "Canada East" and "Canada West." It is somewhat anomalous that the law courts of the former should employ the words, "that part of the Province of Canada heretofore called Lower Canada," in all legal documents, scrupulously avoiding the use of the official phrase "Canada East," and that the people should still distinguish the different sections as Upper and Lower Canada. The Ottawa or Grand River, a stream probably about the magnitude of the Danube, divides these countries for the greater part of its length.

In extent, Lower Canada, in round numbers, is as three to two against Upper Canada. By the same rough calculation the population of Upper Canada is at the uttermost a little more than as twenty-seven to twenty-one against that of Lower Canada. That of the latter, by the same reckoning, is four to one French Canadian and Roman Catholic, of whom more than seven-eighths are unacquainted with English. Of the remainder one-third are Roman Catholics, but not of French extraction, and the rest Protestants: making twelve-fifteenths Roman Catholics of the French

tongue ; one-fifteenth Roman Catholics not of the French tongue ; and two-fifteenths Protestants of various denominations.

In Upper Canada from one-fifth to one-seventh of the people are Romanists of all origins ; the remainder comprise different Protestant bodies. The entire western population is an English speaking community. The descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, or allies of Great Britain, during the American revolution of 1776, form a considerable portion of the people, while their influence, respectability, and wealth, are more than commensurate with their numbers. There is a foreign element in the population, but it is not conspicuous. The negroes, especially fugitive slaves, though not in reality very numerous, are more abundant than in Lower Canada. In both sections of the province the Indians only number a few thousand souls. There are but few full-blooded Indians in Western, and scarcely any in Eastern Canada. Those of the former consist chiefly of the Iroquois tribes ; those of the latter are mostly confined to the Hurons.

The origin of the word Quebec is shrouded in mystery ; eminent authorities disagreeing as to its derivation. Its root has never been discovered in any Indian language or dialect, and some have supposed that it partakes both of French

and Norman derivation. It is admitted, however, that the place was called Stadacona by the Indians who inhabited it at the time of Jacques Cartier, who is generally considered the first discoverer of Canada, because he was more fortunate than his predecessor, poor John Veresan, who was eaten by the savages, and thus prevented from reaping the rewards and honours of his adventure. After the Montagnez, or inferior Algonquins, had evacuated Quebec it was taken possession of by the Hurons, by whom it was named Tia-tou-ta-rili, or "the place of the strait," and by this title, according to Charlevoix, it was handed down to posterity. Its first colonists came from Rouen, who, after much opposition from the natives, finally succeeded in effecting a permanent abode.

This antiquated city has appropriately been designated "the Gibraltar of America;" indeed, nature seems to have intended it for a position of defence. Although Quebec itself presents the appearance of a disinterred town, nevertheless it is surrounded with natural beauties which border strongly on the sublime. Perhaps no other city in the world is so picturesquely situated, or so deeply impresses the mind of the traveller, and yet no city is so neglected, or left to advance towards hopeless ruin. The scenic grandeur of this place has long been the subject of general eulogy.

## ENGLISH AMERICA.

The majestic appearance of Cape Diamond and the frowning fortifications—the cupolas and minarets blazing in the sun—the noble basin, like a sheet of silver, wherein a hundred sail of the line may safely ride—the river St. Charles, gracefully meandering—the numerous village spires on either side of the St. Lawrence—the fertile fields dotted with clusters of cottages—the imposing scenery of Point Levi and New Liverpool—the charming Island of Orleans, and in the distance the bold Cape Tourment and the lofty range of purple mountains, form a *coup d'œil* almost impossible to be surpassed.

Quebec is divided into what is termed the Upper and Lower Towns—*La haute Ville* and *La basse Ville*—a precipice of rugged rock, some three hundred feet in height, separating the one from the other. The Lower Town is situated directly at the foot of the dizzy declivity, and skirts the base of the promontory to a considerable extent on both sides. This is the chief mart of trade and business, from its proximity to the Custom-house, the wharfs and storehouses. Its site is almost entirely the creation of human industry, having been obtained by excavating from the base of the precipice, and redeemed from the river by building out into its waters. Both towns are connected by a narrow passage called Mountain

Street—and a mountain in reality it is. This is chiefly passable for carriages and carts. Foot passengers find it more convenient to ascend and descend by what are termed Break-neck Stairs—an appellation fitly conveying the idea of danger attending this mode of transit from one part of Quebec to the other.

The citadel on Cape Diamond—two hundred feet higher than the base of the Upper Town—is a formidable combination of powerful works, and may well be classed with the celebrated fortresses of Europe. Its foundation was laid by Champlain, the first Governor, in 1620, who bestowed on it the title of St. Louis. It comprises an area of forty acres. You approach it by a tortuous road, cut through the summit of the *glacis*, which conducts to the outward ditch of the ravelin, and thence to the principal ditch of the fortifications, built upon both sides with high walls of solid masonry, and extending along the entire circumference of the citadel on the land and city sides. Each bastion is protected by heavy ordnance, most of which are mounted on immense iron barbette-carriages. This fortress combines every invention and precaution that science and art could devise for the security of the city and the protection of the garrison. A fine row of buildings, formed of cut stone, having a paved terrace in front, is ap-

propriated for officers' quarters. In the dark coloured slate of which Cape Diamond is composed are found limpid quartz crystals, in conjunction with crystalised carbonate of lime. Owing to these crystals, which sparkle brilliantly, the Cape derives its name.

Quebec, the present seat of Government, has all the appearance of a French town, and the traveller has no slight difficulty in disabusing himself of the idea. The quaint houses, long, narrow streets, the number of Catholic churches and conventual establishments with which it abounds, the array of ecclesiastics and nuns, in the costumes of their respective orders, whom one perpetually encounters, the ringing of convent bells all day long, the foreign *patois* one continually hears spoken—nay, even the very sign-boards over the various stores, seem to convey impressively the idea that Quebec is not a Colonial city of the British crown. Everything is French.

The city, embracing within its limits both towns, is divided into districts, known as the St. Louis, Palace, St. Peter's, St. John's, St Roch's, and Champlain wards, their united population numbering a little over fifty-one thousand souls. Of these nearly twenty-nine thousand are of French origin, possessing all the peculiar traits,



predilections, and, unfortunately, prejudices of their Norman ancestry. Although close upon a century has elapsed since the conquest, still the *habitans* never have amalgamated, and never will amalgamate, with the other European settlers. They quietly follow their own pursuits, live for the most part in peculiar districts, and having food and raiment appear perfectly contented with their lot, and have no ambition to improve it. In this people there exists no element of progress—a circumstance which accounts for the low social condition of Quebec, fully a century behind all other Canadian towns.

The houses, generally low and inconveniently crowded, are frequently built of wood, especially in the suburbs. The roofs, too, are of shingle—white cedar, selected for its lightness and durability—over which in the better class residences a covering of tin is placed. Some of the modern erections are of uncut stone boarded over, but brick edifices are very uncommon. A few speculative individuals have raised here and there huge stores, after the American style of architecture, distinguished by the magnitude of the shop fronts. Generally speaking, these had proved failures. One of the most imposing establishments of this class not having been found to answer the purposes of its owner, he was induced



to let off the upper storys of the building to the proprietor of Russell's Hotel, who, during the legislative session, had them fitted up as dormitories for his numerous guests. The lofty store was shut up all day, but was opened towards evening, when a showily-dressed yankeised-Irishman, with a stentorian voice that could be heard distinctly a quarter of a mile off, disposed of dry goods by auction to a tag-rag and bob-tail auditory, some of whom smoked their clay pipes in cool indifference, while the energetic gentleman on the top of a box, disencumbered of his coat, was roaring out "going, going, gone!" meanwhile handing over to some Johnny Green of a spectator an alleged remnant of a bankruptcy stock, sacrificed to the cupidity of an inexorable creditor!

Quebec has been built without the slightest regard to geometrical rule or proportion. The streets run any way, and the houses look so rickety, that there would be an inevitable crash did they not lean for security against each other. They do, however, manage to tumble down sometimes, that is when a fire does not save them the exertion. Everything seems fast hurrying to decay, and yet the *habitans* appear either unconscious of, or indifferent to, the fact. The narrow plank footpaths and the plank and block roads

are in a woeful state of dilapidation, so that if you walk you are liable to break your leg at every step; and if you ride the *calèche* jolts so fiercely that you stand a chance either of being pitched out or else having your neck dislocated. Surely the municipal authorities have much to answer for by thus neglecting to mend their ways, and endangering the lives and limbs of her Majesty's subjects. And yet the householders pay taxes for the especial purpose of repairing the roads and footpaths; a matter, I must confess, very difficult to understand.

"How is it?" I inquired of a magistrate, "that the corporation suffer the highways and byways to remain in such a disgraceful condition?"

"It is, I suppose, because they have no funds," was the ready rejoinder: "all that they can scrape together goes towards paying interest on borrowed money."

Even the lighting of the streets is most miserably managed. Some of them are not lighted at all; but even where the process is attempted—and it is nothing more—the gas is so bad, and the lamps are so far apart, that it seems a needless waste of time and money for no purpose. The lamps indeed emit but a dim ray, only serving to render darkness visible. But of this paltry

glimmer the city is deprived whenever the moon shines, or whenever it is expected that she would shine—it makes no difference which—a narrow impolitic economy, only adopted in some out-of-the-way third-rate town in the “old country.” How lamentable to think that a locality possessing so many eventful historical associations, and surrounded by so many natural beauties, should be suffered to fall into a hopeless state of demolition, owing to the supineness of its inhabitants, or the indifference of the legislature?

All the ancient fabrics are built of lime slate, of which the mountains and hills for many miles along the St. Lawrence are composed. A few feet from the surface this stone is so compact that a casual observer could not discover it was slate. Being easily broken and cut to the size required, it was made available for architectural purposes, after having been exposed for a year to the air and sun. The stones, however, had to be laid in a particular manner in order to prevent decay.

The stirring historical memories connected with Quebec a century since are kept alive by a few tablets to the memories of the great military leaders who fought and fell upon this classic ground. On the battle field of the Plains of Abraham is a

simple but chaste fluted column, erected in 1849, by the officers of the army in Canada, to the memory of Wolfe, who, at an early age, was killed on this spot almost at the moment of victory. It bears the short but pithy inscription—

HERE DIED  
WOLFE,  
VICTORIOUS.

A previous monument had been erected in 1835 by Lord Aylmer, Governor-in-Chief, but it was carried away piecemeal by visitors, whose loyalty was greatly in excess of their discretion. Nevertheless, it seems a disgraceful omission that so slight a mark of honour should have been deferred three-quarters of a century after Canada had been won by Wolfe's arms for England; when, in the eloquent language of Bancroft, "America rang with exultation; the hills glared with bonfires; legislatures, the pulpit, the press, echoed the general joy; provinces and families gave thanks to God. England, too, which had shared the despondency of Wolfe, triumphed at his victory, and wept for his death. Joy, grief, curiosity, amazement, were on every countenance." Other monuments, public and private, proclaim the fame of Wolfe and Montcalm,—the victor and the vanquished.

The principal of these stands in the Governor's Garden, and contains the annexed inscription :—

HUJUSCE  
 MONUMENTI IN VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM,  
 WOLFE ET MONTCALM,  
 FUNDAMENTUM, P. C.  
 GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE;  
 IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS  
 SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS;  
 OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM,  
 QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENTIUS ?  
 AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPO STIMULANS,  
 MUNIFICENTIA FOYENS  
 DIE NOVEMBRIS XV.  
 A. D. MDCCCXXVII,  
 GEORGIO IV. BRITANNIARUM REGE.  
 MORTEM. VIRTUS. COMMUNEM.  
 FAMAM. HISTORIA.  
 MONUMENTUM. POSTERITAS.  
 DEDIT.

The following is a translation :—

"This monumental stone to the memory of the illustrious men, Wolfe and Montcalm, was laid by George, Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-in-Chief over all the British Provinces in North America: a work neglected for many years, he promoted by his influence, encouraged by his example, and favoured by his munificence, 15th Nov., 1827, George IV. reigning King of Great Britain,

"Military prowess gave them a common death; history a common fame; and posterity a common monument, in the year of our Lord, 1827."

Montcalm was buried in the Ursuline Convent. The remains of Wolfe were conveyed to England, and were interred in the parish church of Greenwich. Montcalm's last words consisted in a flattering panegyric upon the British General, and his heroic troops. The memories of both warriors are equally cherished in Lower Canada.

Fronting the site of the old Chateau St. Louis, at Durham Terrace, for centuries the courtly residence of the Governor, is a fashionable promenade. This place of public resort is termed "the Platform," the construction of which cost several thousand pounds. It is erected on the summit of the precipice, and is securely railed in to prevent accident. Fewer views could be more magnificent or imposing than that seen from this place, the eye bringing together verdant fields, and the interminable primeval forest, the frowning fortress, and the smiling aspects of peaceful industry. Here commingle in one harmonious extending panorama, snow-capped mountain and declivitous plain, sinuous river and broad tranquil waters, stately ship and tiny boat, gentle hill and shady valley, bold headland and rich fruitful fields, sombre battlement and cheerful villa, glittering dome and rural spire, flowery garden and sombre forest,—a veritable phalanx of beauty.

It might appear ungracious were I to pass unnoticed the Marine Hospital, especially as the advantages it confers upon English sailors and immigrants are incalculable, although its operations embrace wider bounds. This building is situated on the banks of the River St. Charles, nearly opposite the spot where Jacques Cartier wandered and wintered in 1535; and held converse with

Donnacona, the Indian lord of Canada. The façade is of the Ionic order; the proportions being taken from the Temple of the Muses, on the Illissus, near Naples. With the wings it measures two hundred and six feet from east to west. The wings are ten feet in depth, and the entire premises contain an area of about six acres, a portion of which has been laid out in gardens and promenade grounds for convalescents. On the basement floor are Protestant and Catholic chapels, with temporary apartments for the officiating ministers, besides store-rooms, apartments for housekeeper, steward, and nurses, baths and all necessary conveniences, two large kitchens, in addition to wards for sixty patients. The principal story comprises a lofty vestibule, approached by a double flight of stone steps; suites of rooms for medical officers, examining rooms, operating theatres, and beds for sixty-eight patients. Apartments for the head nurses, and wards for one hundred and forty patients, occupy the third story. Higher again is a lying-in hospital for thirty-four patients; while the attics are laid out for sixty more, affording altogether accommodation for three hundred and sixty-two persons. Each story is fitted up with hot, cold, and vapour baths; while a number of ventilating flues convey, by peculiar



mechanism, the vitiated air to the roof of the edifice.

Lord Aylmer, governor-general, laid the first stone of this building on May 28, 1832; it was opened to the public two years afterwards. The cost of its construction amounted to twenty-three thousand pounds. Over thirteen thousand dollars a year are paid by the Canadian government for its maintenance. This sum is wholly or partially obtained by a tax of one penny per ton on every vessel arriving from sea. There were one hundred and twenty-five patients in the institution at the time of my visit. Out of the eight hundred and thirty-four seamen and immigrants who sought its shelter during the previous year, very nearly one-third were from England; one hundred and seventy-seven came from Scotland, and one hundred and ninety-two from Ireland. The small remnant belonged to almost every nation.

There are some fine Catholic churches that completely throw into the shade the paltry edifice designated by the sounding title of "English Cathedral," consecrated in 1804, and to which George III. presented a valuable communion service. The tall wooden spires of these churches are covered with tin, and when the sun is setting they possess a highly imposing effect, especially as you enter the town by one of the three



Macadamised roads. Quebec possesses no place of nightly amusement. There is a capital music hall in the Upper Town, but concerts are rarely given therein.

The city is deficient in first-class hotels. Indeed it contains but two that can be classed under this category, namely Russell House, in Palace Street, and the St. Louis, establishments conducted by the same proprietor. In many respects these resemble our best English hotels. There exist the same quiet and comfort, the same order and cleanliness, with a more abundant and even luxurious table. Four meals a day are provided for the guests, and at less than one-half the cost of similar houses in London. About two and a-half dollars daily cover every expense. The tables are arranged in an oblong form along either side of the dining hall, and, occasionally, small square tables for private parties occupy a portion of the centre space. These tables are exquisitely laid out and profusely ornamented with vases of flowers, plants, and silver centre-pieces, upon which all the fruits in season are prettily arranged. The waiters, who are numerous, appear in black trousers and immaculate white linen jackets and aprons, and go through the ceremony of attendance with the regularity and precision of soldiers performing their accustomed evolutions.

An overlooker is employed to attend to the guests and see that the waiters perform their duty. The various courses are placed on the table and removed simultaneously, the sundry operations being directed by the click of a bell. Instead of having to afflict the waiters and distress yourself by demanding the names of the dishes, a printed bill of fare is placed by your plate, so that you have but to order whatever dish most accords with your fancy or appetite. This excellent system saves incredible trouble, and insures wonderful expedition, especially when one or two hundred guests have to be accommodated at the same time. Each *employé* is obliging without being servile, and seems to take a pleasure in fulfilling your behests. Whatever you need accomplished is punctually attended to upon making known your desire at the office. Although there is a considerable admixture of the American hotel system in similar establishments in Canada, nevertheless there is a substantial degree of English comfort about them which I have found lacking in the Northern and Southern States of America, during my residence in these parts of the American Continent.

Quebec appears particularly liable to frightful casualties in the form of fire. The first great conflagration occurred during May, 1845, just after the country had become somewhat tranquillized,

and when all the "patriots" had either been hanged or appointed to office. A large tannery first became ignited, and the wind blowing freshly, the burning embers were distributed far and wide, so that the district of St. Roch, for more than a mile in extent, was one vast sheet of flame. Half consumed human bodies and the carcasses of horses and cattle were strewed about in all directions. The very same day of the following month a similar calamity occurred in the St. Louis' suburb. By these catastrophes sixteen thousand persons were rendered homeless, while property to the amount of nearly six hundred thousand pounds was destroyed. During the ensuing month of June the theatre—for Quebec once possessed a temple of Thespis—was consumed during the exhibition of a diorama, when forty-five citizens, many of whom belonged to the upper classes, met with a fearful death.

Shortly after my arrival in the city, two extensive fires occurred during the same week, laying bare entire districts, and throwing hundreds of the poor cottage-holders upon public charity both for food and shelter. The first took place in the St. Louis' suburb, and raged fiercely the whole day, utterly demolishing house by house, and street by street, until within a wide area nothing could be observed but a stack of tall chimneys, grim

charred ruins, that made one melancholy to look upon. With few exceptions all the houses were built of wood. This fire doubled in extent that of the preceding June. The second fire broke out the morning following in the populous and extensive suburb known as Boisseauville or St. Sauveur. Its ravages were more terrible than the other, and the amount of property involved was greater. In both instances the great drawback was deficiency of water.

In a metropolis like Quebec, densely populated in some parts, and containing numerous old wooden fabrics that a spark is sufficient to ignite, an efficient fire brigade would appear indispensable. But there is no such institution. I much doubt whether there be even a fire-engine. Of this, however, I am certain, that to the police is entrusted the duty of extinguishing fires, a feat they seldom succeed in effecting. The entire organization—nearly composed of *habitans*—for the wide and numerous districts into which the city is divided, does not exceed thirty, or at most forty men. These are generally scattered in pairs about those localities considered most in need of their presence. Certainly they are the most stupid and stultified looking mortals of their class that it has been my ill fortune to have encountered in any country through which I have travelled. They are far from being a preventive

force; and as to interfering in street quarrels, which, by the way, are of frequent occurrence, they consider it the wisest policy to avoid them.

Those districts laid bare by the awful calamities to which I have referred were not long in becoming re-populated. But, unfortunately, most of the newly-erected dwellings are likewise of wood, plastered over, and therefore equally liable to destruction as the others. It seems inaccountable that with a municipal bye-law prohibiting the further erection of wooden structures, the same should be suffered without opposition or even remonstrance on the part of the civic authorities. The corporation is not free from censure in this matter; for why pass an enactment for the security of life and property if they be not prepared to carry out its conditions? To create laws, and then connive at their infraction, or administer no punishment to the offenders, betoken a state of things over which I feel rather inclined to throw a veil.

About the same time such havoc occurred in Quebec, conflagrations in the neighbouring woods were prevalent. Owing to this cause, the city for days was enveloped in dense smoke, giving to it the aspect of London during a November fog. These fires rapidly extended to the houses in the settlements. At Cape St. Ignace several barns were destroyed. Similar ravages took place at St. Denis.

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Along the line of railroad, as well as on the other roads contiguous to these fires, it was necessary for the scattered residents to seek shelter by effecting their escape, so dense and suffocating was the smoke. One wood I myself witnessed on fire ten miles distant from the city. The sharp crackling of the branches, and the fierce roar of the maddened flames as they crisped round, and shot in forked curves high above the tallest trees, had a truly appalling effect.

On the festival of St. Jean-Baptiste, which occurs on the twenty-fourth of June, the French population attempted to get up a "sensation." The dreary streets were for a few short hours galvanised into temporary life. Branches of maple trees were nailed along the wooden pathways at the distance of three feet apart, giving an enlivening appearance to the monotonous thoroughfares; while sprigs of the same were entwined around the doors and windows of numerous dwellings. In commemoration of the day, high mass was celebrated at the Church of St. John, which was decorated with green branches and any number of flags, the most imposing being the Union Jack, and British colours, bearing the Prince of Wales' plume. The services having terminated, a lengthy procession was formed outside the church, consisting of the St. Jean-Baptiste Society, the pupils of

the public schools, the students of Laval University and the Seminaries, some trade guilds, and a few militia-men, preceded by a band of music.

Along St. John's-road, a number of banners wafted gaily in mid-air. Looking downward from the church there seemed a vast array of them. One in particular struck me as being very conspicuous. It was an immense red flag, bearing large white letters, which I readily construed to represent some suitable device for the public *fête*. As I approached nearer, however, I was mortified upon discovering that the banner so prominently displayed was made the medium of an advertisement; a certain tradesman thereby informing the public that he kept a "hay loft!"

*Fêtes d'obligation* are of frequent occurrence in Lower Canada; and are strictly observed as general holidays by the Catholic population. Of these the feast of Corpus Christi is perhaps the most important. On the anniversary of that particular day, at the solicitation of Baron Boilleau, I accompanied him to the French Cathedral, where high mass was celebrated. Over one hundred priests and acolytes surrounded the grand altar, which was one dazzling blaze of light; in itself a gorgeous specimen of decorative art. These ministrants were habited in snowy surplices and purple *soutanes*. Some of them bore silk banners,



of red, white, and blue tints, fringed with gold and otherwise richly embroidered. A number of youths, tastefully decorated—literally all muslin and ribbons—carried light ornamental baskets laden with flowers; while there could not have been less than two dozen ecclesiastics bearing censers, which they manipulated in concert with wonderful dexterity, until the church was dark with perfumed incense that curled gracefully up in tinted waves towards the lofty dome. The diocesan would have been the chief celebrant had he not been in Rome at the “canonization,” in obedience to the command of the Pope; and the archbishop’s unfortunate mental malady prevented his attendance. After the religious celebration a “procession of the Host” took place within the walls of the sacred edifice—a ceremony which was repeated publicly in the streets on the subsequent Sunday. In the churches of Paris or Italy I have not witnessed the principal religious rite of the Roman Church celebrated with such gorgeous parade; but the music was woefully deficient, and so was the singing; consequently I came away grievously disappointed.

This cathedral, called the “Church of the Immaculate Conception,” was consecrated by the first Bishop of Quebec in 1666. During the siege in 1759, it was greatly injured by shells discharged



from batteries on Point Levi; so that much of its ornamentation was destroyed, beside a number of valuable paintings. Some of the latter, however, have been restored. These consist of nine works by Vandyke, Blanozon, Vignon, Restoul, and Carlo Maratti.

Ever since the year 1787—as far back as the public records go—a regular ship-building trade has been carried on in Québec. From that period to 1824 inclusive, a cycle of thirty-eight years, the average number of vessels built annually did not exceed twenty-four, the highest numbers being fifty-eight and fifty-four in the years 1788 and 1811 respectively, and the lowest number, six, in the year 1792.

From the year 1825 to 1861, on the other hand, the average number of ships built amounted to about fifty-six annually, the maximum number being ninety-five in 1855, and the minimum twenty-four in 1832. The number of vessels launched during the last decennial period was six hundred and eighty-two; but during the concluding five years of the decade they merely amounted to two hundred and eighty-one; thus exhibiting a considerable decline in this important branch of trade. The total number of vessels built at the port of Quebec since 1787 was two thousand nine hundred and

thirty-nine, their aggregate measurement reaching 890,201 tons. In March 1862, there were twenty-six ships on the stocks building under the inspection of Lloyd's surveyor. The gross tonnage of these vessels was 22,330 tons. The ship-building firms are about fifteen in number. Canadian-built vessels, now enjoying through the liberality of the French Government equal privileges with those of British build, are likely to prove advantageous to the ship-building interest of Quebec. Indeed, there is an increase of seven vessels and 3,000 tons in favour of 1862 over the preceding year.

As early as 1749, when Quebec was the seat of Western French Empire, ship-building, considering the capabilities of the place, was carried on rather extensively. Ships of war had been built for the French navy, until a prohibition arrived to discountinue the work, owing to the nature of the material—the American oak—not being considered so sound or useful as European timber of a like description.

The shipping trade of 1862 contrasted most favourably with that of the four preceding years, judging from the comparative statement of the imports and exports, and the duties collected. In 1861 the exports amounted to 8,316,322 dollars; the imports to 6,434,360 dollars; and the duties to

404,103 dollars—sums greatly in excess of those given for the previous periods.

The lumber merchants of Quebec generally carry on a brisk business during the season ; but the American war had caused a depression in the English markets on timber as well as on other exports, which circumstance, combined with the excessive quantity of the commodity brought down from Ottawa, had rendered that branch of commerce very inactive. A faulty system of arrangement seems to exist between labourers and lumber masters, which injuriously operates against both. At one time the former are glad to earn from twenty-five to fifty cents. a day, whilst at another they will demand from one to two dollars—just as emergency and scarcity of hands arise.

In the suburbs is a habitation called the “Hermitage,” which no one can be prevailed upon to inhabit. Its history is variously told. The received version is that it was constructed in 1712 by one of the French Intendants, Mons. De Bigot, as a place of confinement for a fair paramour,—the wife of Philbert, a Quebec merchant,—who proved false to her husband and subsequently false to her seducer. Herein she was confined for life, and deprived of holding converse with any human being. Her ghost is supposed still to haunt the “Hermitage.” But this dwelling is not its only re-

sort, "when churchyards yawn." It is also supposed to re-visit the residence of her deserted spouse; and several persons now living in Quebec speak confidently of having seen it. The house referred to is the building occupied as the General Post Office, an object of curiosity from the circumstance of a "*Chien d'Or*," or Golden Dog, being over the door. It is a gilt figure in relieve, representing the animal gnawing a bone, under which, by way of illustration, is the following doggrel:—

" Je suis vn chien qvi ronge mon os ;  
 En le rongeant je prends mon repos,  
 Vn jovr viendra qvi n'est pas encore venu,  
 Ov je mordrai celvi qvi m'avra mordv :"

Signifying "I am a dog gnawing a bone; in gnawing I take my repose. The day will come that I will bite him who has bitten me." This device is said to have been invented by the enraged husband in testimony of the antipathy he bore Bigot, so notorious for having made such exorbitant drafts on the Treasury of France that one of the French Queens began to suspect that the walls of Quebec were not metaphorically but literally built of gold. Tradition gives more than one account of the *Chien d'Or* as well as of the "Hermitage," but it is agreed that the latter

was a woman's solitary prison where she had been incarcerated through the jealousy of her seducer, and that the spirit of the sufferer re-visits the scene of her earthly sorrows.

## CHAPTER III.

### TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Scenic Beauties of Quebec—Falls of Montmorenci—Indian Village of Lorette—Burning of a Church—Peasant Life—The Legislative Bodies—The Parliamentary Library.

THE scenic beauties of this region are in point of loveliness perhaps unrivalled by any other scenery in the world. Among the prominent objects of interest are the Lake St. Charles, the Island of Orleans,—called the Isle of Bacchus by Jacques Cartier, from the luxuriant fruits and vines with which it abounded—dividing the St. Lawrence into two currents, and the cascades of Chaudière, Lorette, and Montmorenci. The last is, indeed, a beauteous cataract, which discharges itself into the St. Lawrence. Narrowing into a channel of about forty feet, the Montmorenci river becomes precipitated over a perpendicular ravine, about two hundred and fifty-feet, thundering down the dizzy precipice with such fury as to send up snowy

wreaths of vapour into mid-air, that are ever varying and assuming fantastic forms, so as to produce a fascinating effect upon the beholder. In winter, the spray thus flung upwards becomes frozen, and forms a solid cone of considerable altitude. When the wind is in a favourable direction the sound of these waters is distinctly heard in Quebec, seven miles distant. A mile or two above the Falls the river becomes contracted between lofty vertical rocks, thereby increasing its velocity and forming here and there cascades of ten or twelve feet in depth. In this locality may be observed what are familiarly designated the "Natural Steps"—a geological curiosity. These appear to have been formed by the attrition of the neighbouring stream, occasioned by the melting of the snow imparting to it an augmented rapidity. These steps are so extensive and regular in their formation as to make one fancy they were the laboured results of human art and not the operation of unaided nature.

I made several visits to the delightful Falls of Montmorenci; not so much for the purpose of observing the foaming cataract, dashing its snowy spray almost to the clouds, as of studying French Canadian peasant life. In few places can this be seen to greater advantage than along the village of Beauport, which extends almost the entire

distance from Quebec to Montmorenci. The form of the cottages, the appearance of the *habitans*, the decorated crosses on the road side, are truly French. There is one thing, however, that distinguishes these people from their Norman ancestors, and gives to the village of Beauport an aspect not to be met with in similar districts of France. This characteristic feature consists in cleanliness, carried almost to an excess. The exterior of the houses and the door-steps—for a high door becomes necessary during winter, when five or six feet of snow cover the ground—are mostly coloured white, while the small windows are filled with flowers, imparting an air of gaiety to the village, quite charming to behold. Although the farms are small, they are well kept, and yield an abundant produce. In this region vegetation is very rapid, so that in two or three weeks after the snow disappears, the land is covered with verdure, fruits blossom, and corn and vegetables spring up without the aid of much human labour.

Once, in driving along the St. Foy road along with Baron Boilleau and his amiable lady, he directed my attention to a column, not very long erected, to the memory of General St. Foix, a French officer, of whose military renown but one historian, I believe, has made prominent mention. This column is of iron, and looked very unsightly,



being partially covered with rust. When Prince Napoleon was on a visit to Baron Boilleau he was shown this evidence of French Canadian feeling, and, I was informed, promised to have a statue made of St. Foix, with which to surmount the monument. Nothing further, however, had been heard about the generous offer up to the time of my quitting Canada.

Baron Gauldrée Boilleau is a Frenchman, though not a French Canadian. In Quebec he holds the office of Consul-General of France. He was honoured by the present Pope by being made Commander of the Pontifical Order of St. Gregory the Great, as a reward for the services he had rendered to the Church, while discharging the high functions entrusted to him by the French Government, in Asia, America, and Europe. Some few years ago the Baron married Miss Benton, daughter of the Honourable Thomas Hart Benton, United States' Senator, author of "Thirty Years in the Senate." Another daughter of the American legislator is the wife of General Fremont, of the Federal States army.

In close proximity to the Falls is a mansion built by General Haldimand, once the Governor of the Lower Province. It was subsequently occupied by the Duke of Kent, but is at present held by the proprietor of an adjacent saw mills.

Eighty feet above this Mansion, hanging like a spider's web, was once a suspension bridge, the towers of which only now remain. In the Spring of 1856 it gave way, burying with it a few people in the boiling waters below.

Inspired with that restless and sateless curiosity inherent in most travellers, I was induced to visit the pretty Indian village known as Lorette, three miles distant to the westward of Quebec. Here reside the last remnant of the Huron tribe, with their chief and "Queen." Their residences are built in the French style, and the whole aspect of the district is essentially Norman. These Indians are frugal and industrious in their habits, and live partially by the manufacture of fancy articles, or grimeracks, which they sell to visitors, and by the cultivation of small farms. They entirely abstain from intoxicating liquors; following in this respect the example of their ancestors, who, upon being converted to christianity, solemnly vowed never to imbibe strong drinks, the great bane of their race.

On my arrival I observed a large paper mill on fire, which had ignited the old Indian church. Between this church and that of the Santa Casa at Loretto, in Italy, from which the village takes its name, there existed, it is said, some resem-

blance. All the rich and elegant priestly vestments, and the sacramental vessels of pure silver, presented by one of the French Emperors, were fortunately secured and deposited with the venerable chief. It was a touching sight to have observed the squaws and Indians removing their household effects, including a miscellaneous collection of furs, snow shoes, etc., lest they should be destroyed. The roofs of the little wooden houses, scarcely better than shanties, swarmed with young Indians of the sterner sex; while numberless buckets filled with water were handed up to them by women and children, the contents being thrown over the roofs, thereby rendering them less liable to ignition. It was useless to have attempted saving the church, for the flames were so violent that it was speedily demolished. The stone residence of the priests adjoining escaped uninjured.

Both the "King" and "Queen of the Hurons" visited London in 1825, for the purpose of urging some claims on the Government, on which occasion the "Queen" was presented by the Lord Mayor with a silver medal, of which mark of distinction she appeared exceedingly proud.

Immediately inside of Prescott gate stands the Parliament House, a plain, inconvenient building, erected on the site of the old archiepiscopal palace.

Upper and Lower Canada return one hundred and thirty members to the House of Assembly, being exactly sixty-five for each division of the Province.

Prior to 1854, the Legislative Council, or members of the Upper House, were appointed for life by the Crown. The law rendering this body partially elective, first came into operation in 1855, when the Province was divided into forty-eight electoral divisions; twenty-four for Eastern, and the same number for Western Canada. These forty-eight sections were again sub-divided into four classes, when the ballot was drawn of twelve electoral divisions each. The elections for the first division took place in 1856; for the second, in 1858; for the third, in 1860; and for the fourth, in 1862. A candidate for the Legislative Council must possess a property qualification of two thousand pounds, and has either to reside in the division he represents or else hold an estate in the country. One-fourth of the members thus elected retire in succession every two years, but become legally eligible for re-election. Twenty-seven members are still in the Council who were elected by the Crown. By the same act the office of Speaker is rendered likewise elective. In order to counterbalance political and personal jealousies, which are very rife, the speakerships of both Houses are bestowed alternately upon Upper and

Lower Canadian members; an arrangement which appears to work well.

The politicians of Canada comprise various grades, but they are generally classified under six denominations, viz:—

Blues,—Persons who uphold the doctrine of the temporal power of the Roman Church.

Ronges,—Those who oppose the Church of Rome on temporal questions.

Tories,—A party almost extinct, but who once were the supporters of “the Old Family Compact.”

Conservatives,—The adherents and admirers of the J. A. McDonald and Cartier’s administration and policy.

Hineksite Reformers,—Adherents to the policy of Baldwin, associated with that of the Grand Trunk.

Clear-Grits,—*Outré* Democrats. These embrace every class of politician in Canada, so far at least as it has been possible for me to ascertain.

The Premier having rendered me free of both Houses, I occasionally was accommodated on the benches while witnessing the proceedings of the legislative bodies. Ordinary parliamentary business was conducted with much gravity, order, and due dispatch. In the Lower House I was privileged

to hear an angry debate upon a public question, on which occasion a great deal of rough oratory and personal invective was displayed. The speeches were delivered in French and English; an awkward arrangement, as many of the members are nequainted but with one language. Some of the English members possess remarkable natural talent; but the deficiencies in their education are easily perceptible.

Parliament was prorogued by Lord Monck about the middle of June. The ceremony of prorogation was somewhat interesting, although, of course, infinitely inferior to such a sight in the "old country." A guard of honour lined the streets from Lord Monck's residence to the House of Assembly, guns were fired from the platform, and nothing was omitted that could render the event imposing.

Quebec returns three members to the provincial Legislature; namely, one member for each ward. It possesses six newspapers, four of which are English, and two French; viz: the *Chronicle*, *Gazette*, *News*, *Vindicator*, *Journal*, and the *Debate*. Of the English journals two are Conservatives, one Radical, and the other Liberal. Both the French papers advocate the Liberal interest.

And here I shall take the opportunity of giving an account of the Parliamentary Library.

During the union of the provinces in 1841, both Houses of the Canadian Legislature possessed extensive libraries. These consisted principally of parliamentary records, works of general history and jurisprudence, and a rare collection of books treating of America and Canada. By means of annual appropriations, these collections had increased in the year 1849 to about ten thousand volumes in the Legislative Council library, and to twelve thousand five hundred volumes in that of the Legislative Assembly. Upon the burning of the Houses of Parliament, then situated at Montreal, on the 25th of April, 1849, by a riotous assembly, during a time of high political excitement, both these fine collections were totally destroyed.

On the 3rd July following, the Hon. A. N. Morin, Speaker of the Lower House, in a letter to the provincial parliament, thus alludes to this unfortunate calamity:—"The loss has fallen not merely upon the parliament itself, but generally upon the people of the Province, who, by the liberality of the members of both Houses, were permitted access to the books, in default of other opportunities of literary gratification and research, there being no other library in Canada, of any magnitude, to which the public were admitted." The Speaker was finally empowered by the Legis-



lative Assembly, to communicate officially the grievous loss and deprivation the country had thereby sustained to the principal representative bodies in the mother-country and America, as the existing state of the provincial finances did not, at the time, warrant any considerable outlay for its reconstruction. It was suggested that these individuals should be made acquainted with the extent of the calamity, and their generous assistance solicited, by sending copies of such of their journals, statutes, or other printed documents, as could be spared to form a nucleus for a new library.

This official application met with a very liberal response from the Secretary of State for New York ; Mr. Wynne, of Paternoster Row, London ; the Parliamentary Agent ; the Executive Council of Nova Scotia ; and the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the British House of Commons. The latter imparted a very important aid, having presented a valuable series of journals and sessional papers of the House from 1801 to 1848 inclusive, comprising nearly fifteen hundred volumes. "The worth of this collection," observes the first Report (2nd Aug., 1850), "as a repertory of parliamentary, historical, and statistical information, can scarcely be overrated. It will be found of immense utility to all persons engaged in the business of legisla-



tion, or who may have occasion to refer to the origin and progress of those great questions which have occupied the attention of the British parliament within the last half century."

The appeal of the Canadian parliament to legislative and other representative bodies in foreign countries was not without precedent. In 1834, when the building wherein the sittings of the British parliament were held was destroyed by fire, entailing the additional loss of the libraries, a similar munificence was evinced by the Chambers of Peers and Deputies of France. These distinguished bodies transmitted to our Lords and Commons splendid sets of their journals and other official publications, together with many valuable works of a general character.

On the 3rd June, 1850, a standing committee of seven members was appointed to assist the Speaker in the reconstruction of the library, among whom was the late Sir Allan Mac Nab. A joint library for both Houses was finally recommended, and acceded to by the Legislative Council, who appointed four members on the part of that House to augment and assist the standing committee. A second report was presented on the 9th of the same month, when the sum of two thousand pounds was voted in aid of the national project. Up to 1854 the library had again increased to

nearly seventeen thousand volumes, when, unfortunately, a second disaster occurred, by the accidental destruction of the Legislative Buildings in Quebec, on the 1st February of that year. This time, however, the loss was not very severe. About nine thousand volumes were saved from the conflagration ; while the value of the remainder was obtained from various Insurance Companies —assurances having been effected upon the entire collection, previous to the fire.

With the sum of money thus obtained, together with increased pecuniary assistance provided by the legislature, Mr. Todd, the librarian of the Legislative Assembly, was despatched to Europe during the ensuing year. His mission was not altogether confined to the purchasing of books towards again reconstructing the library, but had for its object a wider field. He was also instructed to solicit from the governments of England and France donations towards that desirable object. In the prosecution of this onerous and delicate enterprise Mr. Todd was eminently successful. The library speedily assumed an aspect very superior to that it had presented at any previous period. It now contains upwards of fifty thousand volumes in every department of literature. Some of the books are extremely rare and costly, such as Audobon's " Birds of America," five octavo

volumes, with four volumes of large folio plates, which cost 1200 dollars; a splendid copy of Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*," the "*Acta Sanctorum*," fifty-four volumes, in vellum; and a fine collection of the Antiquities of Italy, etc.

One excellent feature of this superb collection consists in its being accessible throughout the year, and especially when parliament is not in session, to the respectable portion of the community. So far, it is essentially a public library, for the use and benefit of all literary persons in Canada, who possess the time and opportunity to avail themselves of its advantages. It comprises the best modern standard works in theology, history, metaphysics, science, and the arts, law, politics, political economy, and belles-lettres. All new publications of interest are added to the collection as soon as published. The library, moreover, embraces an extensive series of works on Canadian history, including a considerable number of MSS. obtained at no small labour and expense, illustrative of the early history of the Province. Additions are annually made to these, so that the future historian of Canada will have no reason to complain of a deficiency of material.

The ponderous assemblage of books is for the present rather incommodiously placed in the

temporary buildings used for the legislature during their sojourn at Quebec. Indeed, some thousands of volumes had to be transferred for security to the library of the Laval University, under the care of a resident *custodien*. In the new parliamentary buildings at Ottawa, suitable and extensive accommodation is provided; the library department having been constructed to contain two hundred thousand volumes.

## CHAPTER IV.

## MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

**The New Canadian Cabinet—Sketches of its Members—Financial Position of the Province—Policy of the Administration.**

SHORTLY after my arrival in Quebec, I found considerable political excitement prevailing among the people. This was occasioned in consequence of the old coalition government having resigned office upon being defeated in their project to carry the militia bill through the Legislative Assembly. A new administration was accordingly appointed by His Excellency the Governor-General, consisting of the following members :—

Premier and Attorney-General, West.—Hon. J. SANDFIELD MACDONALD.

Attorney-General, East.—Hon. L. V. SICOTTE.

Receiver-General.—Hon. JAMES MORRIS.

Provincial Secretary.—Hon. A. A. DORION.

Postmaster-General.—Hon. M. H. FOLEY.

Commissioner of Crown Lands.—Hon. W. M'DOUGALL.

Minister of Finance.—Hon. W. P. HOWLAND.

Commissioner of Public Works.—Hon. U. J. TESSIER.

President Executive Council.—Hon. T. D. M'GEE.

Minister of Agriculture and Statistics.—Hon. FRANCIS EVANTUREL.

Solicitor-General, West.—Hon. ADAM WILSON.

Solicitor-General, East.—Hon. J. ABBOTT.

And here it will be pertinent to subjoin a brief memoir of these politicians, more particularly as the majority of them belong, either directly or indirectly, to Great Britain.

THE HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD, Q.C.

The estimable subject of my sketch, was born at St. Raphael, county of Glengarry, Upper Canada, in December, 1812. His early history is not devoid of romantic adventure, interspersed with a dash of wilfulness. At the early age of eleven he became a fugitive from his father's house. While attempting to escape far beyond parental control, he was discovered just in time to prevent him from carrying out his intention. However, upon being brought home, he played the truant again, but this time with more success. Having wandered for a long distance, he was compelled by necessity to article himself to a store-keeper, at a small remuneration. After two or three years passed in this manner, his judgment ripened, and he began to feel the indignity of his position; events which one or two humiliating incidents seem to have effected. Finally, he suddenly threw up serving in a store, and decided upon studying law—a resolution to which his present high station is entirely attributable. Thus do great events spring from trivial causes.

In 1832, Mr. Macdonald studied law under the tuition of Dr. Urquhart. At the termination of two years he made such proficiency that at the competitive examination he took precedence of all his class-mates. He was called to the bar in June, 1840, having previously practised as an attorney,—an usual occurrence in Canada. His high reputation quickly obtained for him lucrative and increasing practice as an advocate. In March, 1841, he was elected to serve in parliament, and not long since was the only member in the House of Assembly who had sat since the union of the provinces. Lord Sydenham had been sent from England to carry the Union into effect, and with that view many of the Lower Canadian elections, where the constituents had been opposed to the measure, were gained by violence. Mr. Cuvillier, the nominee of the government, was then elected speaker in opposition to Sir Allan MacNab. In Canada, a speaker seldom retains his seat in that capacity beyond one session. Every new House of Assembly elects its own speaker, so that there are often several ex-speakers in the prime of political life who return to the floor of the House.

The government at this time was composed of politicians whose differences were irreconcilable. Nor was the legislature itself free from placemen.

Heads of departments were not presided over by representatives of the people in whom some confidence may be reposed. In 1839, Lord John Russell forwarded a despatch in which the alternative of either supporting the government or retiring from office was proposed to those who had seats in either branch of the legislature. The manner in which the Union had been forced upon Lower Canada caused many representatives to join the Opposition ranks. Mr. Macdonald, although disagreeing with the government, being an Upper Canadian, could not sympathise with Sir Allan MacNab, the Opposition leader of that section of the country. The rebellion, of which the effects had scarcely passed away, had reduced everything to a question of loyalty, especially in that portion of Central Canada which Mr. Macdonald happened to represent. His position was delicate and peculiar. In conjunction with the Conservatives of Upper and the Opposition of Lower Canada, he voted against the government, but he never attended a party meeting and had no intimate alliance with members of the Opposition.

During the first session of that parliament resolutions were passed establishing responsible government. With evident reluctance, but ostensible good grace, Lord Sydenham accepted the



principle. So adroitly were the preliminaries managed, that some of the resolutions proposed in the House were framed so as to make it appear as if the principle of executive responsibility had actually emanated from the government itself. The doctrines thus founded were attempted to be subverted by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1843, and the elections that ensued turned upon a contest between the Governor-General and the late Council.

In this contest Mr. Macdonald espoused the cause of the ex-ministers; rather a perilous experiment among the Highlanders of Glengarry, so remarkable for their loyalty. Singular to say, at the hustings he was returned by a larger majority than before. During the years 1848, 1852, and 1854 he was elected without a contest to represent his old constituency. In 1849 he was appointed Solicitor-General, under what is known as the Lafontaine-Baldwin government, which important post he filled until the autumn of 1851, when that ministry became dissolved. The following year he was elected Speaker, and maintained that position till the political rupture of 1854. In 1858 he was raised to the rank of Attorney-General in the Brown-Dorion cabinet. Until within a comparatively short time Mr. Macdonald had been connected with the Opposition,

when he abandoned the 'clear-grit party' and became an 'independent member.'

Although an Upper Canadian, Mr. Macdonald has persistently opposed the doctrine of representation by population; and notwithstanding being a Roman Catholic, has resisted the separate school system--a policy that has rendered him very unpopular with the priests, who have recommended from the altar that electors should give their suffrages to Protestant candidates in preference to him. The Highlanders, however, discarded the admonition and re-elected their old representative, who, he has assured me, never so much as issued an address to his constituents. Of the eighteen thousand inhabitants of Glengarry county, nineteen-twentieths are of Highland Scotch extraction. Among these there were at the time of the last census more than three thousand three hundred Macdonalds, all of whom speak Gaelic.

In 1840 Mr. Macdonald married a lady from Louisiana, the daughter of a Senator of the United States, who owned an extensive plantation, but who was, in 1843, unhappily shot in a duel. The Premier is of spare build, rather tall, and of the nervous type. His face is pale, but his brow is expansive and intellectual. Except to particular friends he is seldom very communicative, neither

does he shine as a speaker. His many amiable and excellent qualities, however, more than atone for these slight natural deficiencies.

The other members of the government fairly represented the mixed population of the country. Four of them, Messrs. Sicotte, Dorion, Tessier, and Evanturel, are French Canadians; Mr. Abbott is an Englishman; Messrs. McDougall, Wilson, and Morris are Scotch; Mr. Howland is of American birth; Messrs. M'Gee and Foley are Irish, the former being a Roman Catholic and the latter a Protestant. A few words in relation to each of these will not be irrelevant.

THE HON. LOUIS VICTOR SICOTTE.

This gentleman, who ranked as the Lower Canadian leader in the administration, is by birth connected with the French part of the Province. Like most of his colleagues he is a lawyer; and in consequence of the radical difference between the two systems of civil law existing in Upper and Lower Canada, he is the French Attorney-General, as Mr. Macdonald is the English. These gentlemen, now close coadjutors, were at one time placed in a curious position of rivalry by party exigencies. In 1854 both were candidates for the speakership, and the ministry of that day, headed by Mr. Hincks, unexpectedly cast their votes for

Mr. Sicotte, the younger member, and the candidate of the regular Opposition, in order to defeat Mr. Macdonald, the independent candidate. The consequence was, that Mr. Sicotte was elected, who continued to discharge the duties of his office until the dissolution, in 1857, with universal satisfaction. His grave and dignified demeanour well fitted him for presiding over a popular assembly; and his friends allude with pride to the fact that never once was there an appeal from his decisions in the chair. In 1858 he was for a few months Commissioner of Crown Lands, but retired from that position, being unable to agree with his colleagues on several points of their policy.

#### THE HON. ANTONIE ARINE DORION

Is the least known of French Canadian politicians. Some twenty years ago, being then a young man just out of one of those rural colleges with which Lower Canada abounds, he attached himself devotedly to the returned exile, Lewis Joseph Papineau, who still lives, at an advanced age, on his estate on the Ottawa River. Papineau's conversational gifts, no less than the halo of 'martyrdom' with which he was invested, gave him immense power with the young *doctrinaires* of Montreal and Quebec, many of whom were full

of promise, but few have ripened into influence or authority save the subject of this sketch. Mr. Dorion was elected for Montreal, in 1854, with Messrs. Young and Halton; in 1857, with Messrs. M'Gee and Rose; again in 1858, after the crisis of that session; but in 1861 was left in a small minority by ex-Attorney-General Cartier. He has long been regarded as the leader of the Liberal portion of the French Canadians; and although temporarily without a seat in the House, his assistance was considered indispensable by Mr. Sicotte, in order to command in the legislature a Lower Canada majority.

#### THE OTHER FRENCH CANADIANS

Consisted of the Hon. Messrs. Tessier and Evantural, both of whom belong to Quebec. The former represents in the Upper House the division of the Gulf, and holds in the ministry the portfolio of Public Works. The latter, who is the son of an old soldier of Napoleon's wars, sits for the adjoining county, and is charged with the department of Agriculture.

#### THE LOWER CANADIAN SIX

Were completed by Mr. J. J. G. Abbott, a Montreal lawyer of high standing, and Mr. Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, whose name is, perhaps, more

generally known out of Canada than that of any other member of the ministry. Of Mr. Abbott, who had but recently entered public life, little of interest can be stated; but of Mr. McGee's career, which has been an eventful and chequered one, many curious circumstances are related both by the honourable gentleman himself and by others. One thing is certain that he never disguises his opinions or antecedents.

#### THE HONOURABLE THOMAS D'ARCY M'GEE

Is a native of Carlingford, in the north of Ireland, and at the time of his appointment had but just attained his thirty-seventh year. At the early age of seventeen he left school and migrated to America without the consent of his family, landing at the desolate port of Quebec, a wild adventurous boy, rich only in golden thoughts and aspirations, just twenty years to the day in which he was sworn in by Lord Monck, as President of the Executive Council.

He followed the stream of the Irish exodus to the United States, and before he was twenty years old edited a weekly newspaper at Boston. Subsequently he returned to Ireland at the invitation of the proprietor of a Dublin journal, and in 1848 became compromised, or at least suspected, as a 'young Irelander.' His rebellious prose and verse

were as bitter and as juvenile as most of his party. He had not reached his twenty-third year, when he made his second unwilling exit from Irish ground. Though he returned to the United States' deeply tinctured with the revolutionary ideas of his school, he soon became disenchanted of democracy as exhibited in New York, strictly refraining from becoming a 'citizen,' or mixing in the party politics of the Republic. He visited Canada in 1854, and during subsequent years, when he made many personal friends. Finally, in 1857, he took up his abode permanently in Montreal, for which city he was elected during the same year, and has since been twice or thrice re-elected by acclamation. Mr. McGee bears a high reputation as an orator and a debater; to which gifts, as well as to his fine social qualities, he, in a large degree, may attribute his position.

#### THE HONOURABLE MICHAEL HAMILTON FOLEY

Is a native of Thom, but not of the fold of "the lion of the tribe of Judah." His youth and manhood have been entirely spent in Western Canada, where his personal popularity exceeds that, perhaps, of any of his colleagues in the ministry. In 1854 he was elected for North Waterloo, an Anglo-Dutch constituency, which has ever since adhered to him with proverbial constancy. During

the crisis of 1848 he held the office of Postmaster-General, which honour has been again conferred on him. As a practical man of business he is well qualified to discharge the onerous and important duties inseparable from such a position.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM MCDOUGALL,

A Highland Celt by descent, was born in the county of York, Canada West, and like the majority of his colleagues, is under forty years of age. Having edited for a length of time a very able party journal, entitled the *North American*, he rendered his name familiar in connection with the press. Since 1858 he has represented South Oxford in the provincial parliament. Although not possessing in debate the readiness of Foley or the reputation of M'Gee, he is invariably listened to with respect, from the strong vein of common sense, and the accurate and abundant sources of information, that characterise his addresses.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND.

This member of the cabinet has sat in Parliament since 1857 for one of the Ridings of York, adjoining Toronto. He is of American origin, I believe of American birth; and belongs to an old Quaker family. As a miller and corn merchant



he is prominently connected with one of the most extensive and reputable firms in Toronto. For many years he has been President of the Toronto Board of Trade. Notwithstanding a singularly quiet and rather valetudinary look, he is said to possess in a high degree the application and energy necessary to his office as Finance Minister.

THE HONOURABLE ADAM WILSON,

Solicitor-General, West, is a Scotchman, a lawyer of repute, and a resident of Toronto. He was first elected to parliament about the end of 1859, and has ever since represented North York. At previous elections he twice contested Toronto with Mr. Robinson unsuccessfully, but retained his rural constituency. He ranks as a Queen's Counsel, and holds a very leading and lucrative position in his profession.

Such, so far as I could learn, are the antecedents of the ministry who composed what is termed the Mc'Donald-Sicotte administration. Since my return to England, however, a few changes have been instituted, some of them unimportant, owing to further political complications having produced a partial disruption of the government.

The Macdonald-Cartier ministry had held office through many vicissitudes, for about eight years, with the exception of the short prelude when the

Brown-Dorion administration were in power,—a period of two days. In July, 1858, the ministry were defeated relative to carrying out the Queen's decision respecting the removal of the seat of Government to Ottawa. The Brown-Dorion cabinet was thereupon hastily formed, when it received a vote of want of confidence in both Houses of the legislature. Although having held office for several years, the John A. McDonald administration was continually changing some of its members. It was composed of coalition after coalition; and while avowedly Conservative, failed to satisfy the demands and desires of that particular class. The public, of all shades of political opinion, had, I apprehend, grown thoroughly tired of their rulers, and became desirous of a change, were it even from bad to worse. With a periodically diminishing revenue, it exercised no economy or foresight, while flagrant abuses were suffered to exist, for which no one seemed responsible.

The "Report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts" printed, shortly after the change of ministry, by order of the Legislative Assembly, presents the financial position of the Province in a very serious aspect; while the recklessness, fraud, and jobbery it exposes, one would suppose almost beyond credence. With a public debt in outstanding debentures amounting to nearly sixty-

six million dollars, the deficit in the revenue had approached during four years to close upon five and a half millions. According to Mr. Galt, the late Finance Minister's report, this deficit has been as follows, omitting the cents :—

		Dollars.
In 1858	. . . .	2,535,610
In 1859	. . . .	451,979
In 1860	. . . .	768,793
In 1861	. . . .	1,476,868
Total		5,233,250

Moreover, the public offices appear to have been imperfectly organized. Irresponsible persons in departments, were in the habit of giving orders for stationery, and other supplies, without ascertaining the cost. For these articles, the most fabulous prices would be charged, the money paid, and yet no certificates could be produced to show that the goods had been received by the various bureaux.

Sometimes, in the collection of customs duties, so carelessly had supervision been exercised, that the amount expended was actually in excess of that received. For example, at Dunville, the charges upon collecting 1942 dols. 75 cents amounted to 1973 dols. 12 cents, or 30 dols. 47 cents more than the sum collected; and yet no satisfactory reason could be assigned for this anomaly. The new administration evidently assumed the reins of

office under very trying circumstances. A few of its members, it is true, have had little or no experience; but those who did not hold office in previous governments were considered to be endowed with fair natural ability and respectable administrative sense. A statesman, in the European signification of the term, Canada cannot boast of; nor is it likely that she will possess such a desideratum for many years to come.

The *Quebec Chronicle*, then the ministerial organ, in dilating upon the financial position of the Province, boldly averred that the time was not far distant when resort must be had to other sources of revenue than the customs duty upon imports and the sale of Crown lands. But direct taxation in any form is as repulsive to the Canadian as to the American mind. Although such a contingency is not improbable, and for many reasons would be desirable, it must be a strong government who would peril their existence by having recourse to such an alternative. How Mr. Howland, the Finance Minister, is to relieve the country of the heavy burden of debt under which it groans, remains to be seen. The retrenchment or "cheese-paring" policy, as it was termed, initiated by the cabinet, did not appear calculated to restore the necessary equilibrium to this over-poised dependency of the British Crown.

The gross receipts for the financial year 1861-2 were 12,655,581 dollars. This amount, however, included 2,764,002 dols. received for debentures, and a further sum of 934,048 dols. on account of special funds, which are fluctuating, and in this instance unusually large. A reduction of the gross aggregate to about 9,500,000 dols. was, therefore, strictly produced by these two items. The total expenditure of the Province amounted to 14,742,834 dols., to meet which the Financial Minister had a revenue of merely 9,500,000 dols., leaving him a ponderous deficit of 5,200,000 dollars. Mr. Galt, the predecessor of Mr. Howland, a very able and distinguished statesman, was fully aware of the difficulty under which the country laboured. His shrewd and capacious mind readily perceived that the ordinary sources of revenue—in some instances exhibiting an average loss of twenty-six per cent.—did not keep pace with the necessarily large and growing expenditure of the Province. With the view of replenishing, even but partially, an exhausted exchequer, and of providing for the increasing outlay consequent upon the development of the country having created fresh demands upon the administrative functions of the government, this financier meditated a few fresh sources of permanent revenue, so as to augment the fiscal receipts by two millions of dollars.

On introducing the Budget of 1862, in Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Galt, in an elaborate and exhaustive speech, clearly portrayed the pecuniary embarrassments under which he officially laboured. He, therefore, proposed a few additional sources of permanent revenue, such as the augmentation of the tariff duties on tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, rectified spirits, beer, tobacco, etc.; together with the institution of a stamp duty. These imposts he considered would create no dissatisfaction or raise any opposition in the minds of the people, who would not thereby be taxed per head more than they had been five years previously. The philosophical and statesman-like views entertained on fiscal legislation by this eminent and well-known financier, may be gathered from the following passage in the address to which reference has been made:—

“In establishing,” observes Mr. Galt, “the taxation of a country, it is desirable that we should endeavour to avoid as much as possible anything approaching to class legislation; that we should distribute the burdens on the members of the community as equably as possible, and that we should not offer any inducements or advantages to one class of our fellow-subjects over another. It is desirable, in considering the principles of taxation, that we should take those taxes

which can be most readily collected, which are least likely to run counter to the moral sense of the community, and which can be collected at the least expense." These sentiments are fair, just, and every way creditable to a leading statesman.

How Mr. Galt's successor in office intends to place the provincial exchequer permanently beyond such casualties as the fluctuations of special revenue, the sale of debentures, and receipts from trust funds, is a problem I cannot solve. It must have been a source of much painful anxiety to Mr. Howland and his colleagues that there should have existed a ponderous deficit in the revenue just at the time of their taking office. To remedy this state of things was, doubtless, a Herculean task, but one nevertheless that demanded to be resolutely undertaken. A deficit of over five millions of dollars, and the possibility of having to levy new imposts, were the remorseless Furies that incessantly pursued the financial Orestes. Accordingly one night, shortly after his induction into office, Mr. Howland sent down to the House of Assembly the following amended resolution upon the Tariff :—

"That it is expedient, in addition to the *ad valorem* duties of customs on the following articles, that specific duties be levied as follows :—Coffee, 3 cents. per lb. ; molasses, 5 cents. per gallon ; raw sugar, 2 cents. per lb. ; refined sugar, 3 cents. per lb. ; confectionery, 3 cents. per lb. ; that the duty on tea now im-



posed by the sliding scale be repealed, and that a specific duty of 4 cents. and an *ad valorem* of 15 per cent. be levied in lieu thereof; that in lieu of a specific duty, 18 per cents. per gallon on whiskey and 25 cents. on rectified spirits be imposed; that a duty of 10 cents. per gallon be imposed upon kerosene, coal and petroleum oil, distilled or refined; that scrap, brass and drain tiles, and articles for regimental mess, be added to the free list.

"That it is expedient to increase the duty on spirits and beer distilled and brewed in the province, and on the licences of distillers, rectifiers, and brewers; that it is expedient that the additional duty on spirits distilled and made in the province be 9 cents. per wine gallon of strength proof, and so in proportion for greater or less strength than that proved by Sykes's hydrometer; that it is expedient that the additional duty on beer be three cents. per wine gallon, and the said additional duty shall take effect on and after such day as the Governor in Council shall, by proclamation, direct. That it is expedient that the additional duty on licences of distillers or rectifiers by any process other than filtration, to 160 dols., making a total duty of 200 dols.; on licences of distillers or rectifiers by filtration only, 60 dols.—making the total duty 100 dols.; on the licences of rectifiers by filtration, not being distillers, 60 dols., making a total duty of 100 dols.; on licences of brewers, 50 dols., making a total duty of 60 dols.—said additional duties to be payable on the next renewal of existing licences or upon taking out any new licence."

Thus a system of taxation was initiated that may have to be considerably extended. Indeed, the *British Whig*, a journal published in Kingston, Canada West, advocated the adoption of direct taxation in order to meet the necessary expenditure of the Province, and keep faith with public creditors, among whom is Great Britain herself, since she has guaranteed the four per cent. loans. It stated that Canadians were ever talking about their loyalty, but never doing anything to show it; and then recommended that two millions of



dollars should be added to the county assessment and gathered directly from the people; the levy to be in proportion to each taxpayer's means. This journal further denounced the policy of the Province in having created and constantly augmented the tariff on British manufactures, observing:—

“Two millions of dollars taken off annually from the duties on British manufactures would be a material relief to the grumbling folks at home, and two millions of dollars added to the county assessments would be a mere bagatelle for two millions and a half of people to pay. Were Canada to do this instead of prating about loyalty and shouting out ‘God Save the Queen’ at every opportunity, she would then be acting, and a better feeling would soon manifest itself. The only possible use that Canada can be to the British Empire is as a field for the introduction of her manufactures; and were they admitted into the Province at a low, instead of a high duty, they would soon find their way all over this wide continent. This should be the true policy of Canada.”

It is to be hoped that these suggestions may be duly weighed by the legislature and the government, for they seem to be pre-eminently worthy of attention.

It may not be considered superfluous to acquaint the general reader from what sources the provincial revenue is derived. I therefore annex a concise statement of the

## REVENUE FOR 1862.

	Dollars.
Customs, deducting loss . . . . .	3,840,746
Excise . . . . .	402,404
Various items, including Post-office, Public works, Investments, Special Revenues, etc. . . . .	3,131,900
Total . . . . .	<u>7,375,050</u>

The expenditure of the Province is generally under ten millions of dollars annually; but as 1862 proved an exceptional year, the revenue was less than ordinary by nearly a million of dollars.

In 1861 the public debt of the country amounted to over fifty-eight millions of dollars, or about twenty-three dollars per head of the population; being considerably less than for the three preceding years.

This, of itself, is a favourable omen, inasmuch as it shows that the proportion of debt per head of the population has somewhat diminished. In 1861 the interest on the public debt was 3,286,457 dollars; the amount when distributed amongst each individual of the population being one dol. thirty-one cents—a proportion less by three cents per head than in 1858. The ordinary ex-

penditure of the Province during the latter period was 8,939,809 dollars, being three dols. ninety-five cents. per head, while in the former year, 1861, the expenditure amounted to 9,318,180 dollars, or three dols. seventy-one cents. per head, for precisely similar purposes. This saving of twenty-four cents per head, on a population of 2,507,657, is equal to 601,837 dols., 68 cents.

Notwithstanding the financial embarrassment under which Canada laboured during 1862, the country has been gradually increasing in population, wealth, and productiveness. In these respects, comprising a period of nine years, she has exhibited a very successful career, so much so as to inspire well-grounded expectations of a highly prosperous future. A few statistical details, for which I am partially indebted to the Census Returns, will place this assertion beyond dispute.

In 1852 the population of Canada West was 952,004, while in 1861 it reached 1,396,091; showing an increase of over forty-six per cent. During the same period the population of Canada East was 890,261 and 1,111,566 respectively; giving an increase of twenty-five per cent. for that comparatively unprogressive division of the Province.

Moreover, the lands held in Upper Canada in 1852 amounted in acres to 9,825,915, and

those under actual cultivation to 3,702,788 ; while in 1861 there was an augmentation of 3,528,992 and 2,547,831 acres respectively, or an increase of forty-six and two-thirds and thirty-five and three-fourths per cent. In Lower Canada the contrast between these two periods is, of course, not so striking, but we have a considerable increase nevertheless. The lands held in 1852 were 8,113,408 acres, while in 1861 they amounted to 10,223,959 acres, or twenty-seven and three-fourths per cent. For the same periods the acres under cultivation were 3,605,167 and 4,678,900, or an increase of twenty-nine and three-fourths per cent. The cash value of the farms in Upper Canada in 1861 amounted to nearly three millions, and the value of live stock to about fifty-four millions of dollars ; while in Lower Canada the relative estimated value of these was one hundred and sixty-eight and a half and twenty-four and a half millions of dollars.

Perhaps the statistics of wheat and other cereals demonstrate more unerringly than any criterion the affluence and prosperity of the country. In this respect the Province shows gratifying results. Comparing 1861 with 1852, Upper Canada exhibits an augmentation of 103 per cent. in case of wheat, and of 115 per cent. in regard to other grain ; so that two bushels of wheat and

grain are now grown where but one bushel was raised a few years ago. In Lower Canada, for the same periods, there is an increase of sixteen per cent. for wheat, and of nearly one hundred per cent. for other cereals—a remarkable result, considering the peculiar character and habits of the people.

Canada presents unusual facilities for the growth of flax, the general cultivation of which, by and bye, will greatly augment the resources of the country. Farmers are now directing their attention to this staple; for in this product there has been an increase in Upper Canada from 59,680lbs. in 1852 to 1,225,937lbs. in 1862—nearly two thousand per cent. In Lower Canada the product was 145,755lbs. in 1852 against 976,495lbs. in 1861; or an excess of nearly six hundred per cent.

These details are important, inasmuch as they prove that Canada, taken as a whole, although experiencing temporary financial pressure, is advancing with mighty strides in her glorious path of progress.

That 'a new broom sweeps clean' is a popular and trite apothegm; so the Canadian administration speedily commenced clearing out the foul Angean stable left by their predecessors, with an unsparing, almost a relentless hand. 'Retrench-

ment’ seemed the order of the day. Indeed the adoption of this principle became one of the strongest claims they possessed to public confidence and support. Hence the pruning knife was brought into rigorous requisition; and useless or cumbersome branches were felled from the departmental tree. Superabundant *employés* were daily dismissed from the various public offices; and some cases seemed not only cruel, but almost bordering upon injustice. By the ‘snuffing out’ of one hundred and fifty pound clerks, a saving of eight thousand dollars in the Militia Department alone was said to have been effected. Still, all this cheese-paring economy would go but a small way towards making up a deficiency of five millions of dollars. Some journals were disaffected enough to avow want of confidence in the administration, and even to hint that the retrenchments then effecting were but temporary, and that, ultimately, one class of officials would be replaced by another. This, however, I cannot believe, judging from the character of those who held power. Having had the pleasure of intimate acquaintance with several members of the cabinet, my impression is that their intentions were honourable, and that they meant to retrench earnestly, until the finances of the Province were placed on a securer basis. The

previous government had left the country in a woeful position. There seems to have been a wilful and prodigal waste of the public funds; and when the burden of debt became so excessive, and the revenue so deficient, to restore the Province to a state of financial equilibrium necessitated a labour almost as formidable as that of bringing order out of chaos, or of draining the ocean dry.

The example set by the Attorney-General, West, was assiduously imitated by his colleagues in the government. A clear gain of two thousand dollars a year was said to have been effected by the Postmaster-General, in dispensing with the services of one inspector, who, during the five years he was postmaster at Montreal, through his mismanagement, suffered that department to get into arrears of over five thousand dollars. In 1860 an investigation took place into the affairs of the office, and Dr. Meilleur was removed. Notwithstanding that he avowed his inability to refund the amount of arrears, and that the direction of the Post-office gave anything but satisfaction, he was elevated to the dignity of Post-Office Inspector. It was stipulated, however, as one of the conditions of his appointment to the inspectorship, that he should not discharge any of its duties! The secretary of the department was deputed to do the doctor's work, so the

latter had but to draw his stipend—a pleasant sort of sinecure, certainly. I mention this circumstance as illustrative of the recklessness of the former administration, who were as remarkable for their prodigality as their successors became for their parsimoniousness.

Then again, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, who only commenced the work of retrenchment, had in a short time caused a saving to the Province of several thousand dollars per annum, by dispensing with the services of superfluous officials. The Finance Minister also had retrenched to the extent of fourteen thousand dollars annually; and it was confidently expected that before he had ceased applying the pruning knife that sum would be at least quadrupled. This wholesale, if not wholesome, reform was carried even to the Court of Queen's Bench of Upper Canada. The Clerk of the Court receives a salary of eight hundred pounds a year, and his duties had hitherto been delegated to supernumeraries, employed and paid by the Province. These the Premier had ordered to be discharged or else remunerated by the Clerk of the Court out of his income. The result has been a positive saving to the public revenue of three thousand dollars annually.

In the Court of Common Pleas a similar policy



was adopted. By these and other meditated retrenchments it was estimated that the annual expenditure of the civil service would be permanently diminished by four hundred thousand dollars, or eighty thousand pounds. In the face of such palpable occurrences there were public organs which inveighed against the policy and purposes of the government, designating the retrenchment scheme as nothing better than a 'sham.' The *Quebec Daily News* was one of these. That journal accused the administration of appointing their friends to office right and left; observing that no less than eight or ten appointments had been made in the Militia Department to fill the vacancies created by those recently dismissed; that the office of Inspector of Custom-houses had been re-established—an office abolished by the previous government three years before; and that this contemptible higgling plan of discharging decrepid and invalided, although faithful, public servants; of sending one set of needy adventurers adrift to make room for another still more needy and unscrupulous, while pretending to purge the departments and initiate a spirit of economy into the civil service, was so hollow and transparent as to be deserving of the utmost contempt.

Now was it without grounds that this bitter opposition had been evoked. One Saturday Mr. Nash,

Deputy Adjutant-General for Upper-Canada, was suddenly suspended, and on the following Monday Mr. Walker Powell, ex-member for Norfolk, quietly stepped into his place. This ill-advised appointment speedily raised up a storm of vituperation against the ministry. It was publicly stated that Mr. Powell was anything but qualified for the responsible office into which he had been thrust, while his loyalty became more than suspected. I was informed that he made a practice of displaying the 'Stars and Stripes' from his residence every Fourth of July, and that the American Standard sometimes got torn down by his incensed fellow-townsmen. It was more than rumoured that the post of Adjutant-General of Militia was conferred on Mr. Powell by the Premier on the requisition of another member of the cabinet, who was said to have been under obligation to the family of the individual thus promoted. Had such been the case, it savours too much of that purblind policy pursued at Washington, while it evinces the adoption of the principle by the administration that 'to the victors belong the spoils,' or, in other words, the perquisites of office.

It cannot be denied that the local government of the Province has at all times very arduous duties to perform, and no small difficulty in en-

deavouring to smooth down the ruffled sea of faction, which is ever restless and boisterous. Between the people of Upper and Lower Canada a great gulf is fixed that no administrative policy can bridge over. There is the representation by 'double majority,' and by 'population' parties, while the people of both sections of the Province are always jealous of their assumed rights and privileges, which each consider to be ignored by the other. In Canada West the Protestant and Roman Catholic members are invariably at loggerheads, and a politico-religious party amongst the latter have been for some time battling for a separate school system. Again, in Canada East, the French population are provokingly exacting, and do not amalgamate with the other European settlers. They want this portion of the Province exclusively for the French; have an objection to people of other countries living amongst them; and are opposed to progress in every way. Even their loyalty is questionable, although they may display the British flag in their chapels on *fête* days.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE DEFENCE OF CANADA.

Rejection of the Militia Bill—Passing of a Modified Measure—Recall of Colonel Lysons, C.B.—Supineness among Volunteers—Strength of the Active Militia Force of Quebec—Antipathy towards England—The New York Press Condoles with the Canadians—Annexation and a French Protectorate Denounced—Anglo-Federal Journals.

A false impression was created in England by the voting down of the Militia Bill in the Canadian parliament upon its second reading, which circumstance was so far denunciatory of the principle involved therein. Some averred, and no doubt the statement was accredited in Great Britain, that the Roman Catholic population of Upper Canada were more or less disloyal to the Crown; that their representatives in the House of Assembly, naturally enough, shared the principles and predilections of the constituencies by whom they had been elected; and that had they suffered the proposed Militia Bill to pass it would have savoured of hostility to the Federal Government of America,

while it would involve an amount of attachment to the Crown and constitution of England, for which they had no desire to receive the credit. Disloyal constitutencies there may exist, and disloyal representatives also, but I am convinced that the great mass of the Canadian people are staunchly and unswervingly attached to British rule.

On the subject of the rejection of the Militia Bill I have held several conversations with the Premier and other members of the new or 'Liberal' administration, by whom I was assured that no disloyalty was intended by its rejection.

So far from opposing the principle therein involved, a modified bill for a similar organization was introduced by the government, somewhat analagous to the volunteer movement at home. The paramount objection to the measure of the previous ministry was the expense it would have entailed on the Province, which, owing to the adverse operations of the American war and other causes, had produced a deficit of five millions of dollars below the actual revenue. The customs receipts alone, from the 1st January to the 13th May, 1862, had been less by five hundred thousand dollars than they were for the same period of the previous year. An additional grant of seven hundred thousand dollars had been voted for the completion of the Parliament Houses at Ottawa; while the redemption of

municipal bonds and the Seignorial Tenure formed a combined item of nearly two million four hundred thousand dollars. How then, it was gravely asked, could one million of dollars additional be voted for the purpose of organizing a militia force and placing it upon a proper footing? The new government, to their credit, have appropriated two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for this object; just one-fourth of the amount proposed in the supplementary estimates of the previous ministry; and forty thousand dollars in excess of the regular annual appropriation for the purpose of colonial defence. Had the rejected bill been brought forward during the excitement occasioned by the *Trent* difficulty, it would have met with no discouragement from the Opposition; indeed, would have been carried without a dissentient vote. The amicable relations subsequently existing between England and America, in conjunction with financial pressure, induced hostility to the measure, creating the ministerial crisis so humiliating to the Conservative party.

The modified Militia Bill introduced by Colonel Haughton, on behalf of the new government, and carried through both Houses of the legislature, contains but eleven short clauses, amending the act previously in force. Section twenty-two of this act is repealed, and a new section substi-

tuted, to the effect that the active militia in time of peace shall be composed of volunteer forces, and that they shall be armed and formed at such places and in such manner as may from time to time be designated by the Commander-in-Chief. The total strength of each volunteer corps is not to exceed ten thousand officers and men in the first class. Each volunteer is to receive clothing while on drill or service, or six dollars a year instead. Brigade-Majors may be appointed, not exceeding one for each military district, to be remunerated at the rate of four hundred dollars annually. The fortieth section of the old act is likewise repealed, and a clause inserted, giving to the active militia fifty cents, each day during the twelve days' drill imposed, and allowing a dollar additional for each horse. The pay of the militia, if called out for active service, is to be similar to that of regular troops. Power is also given to appoint one hundred drill sergeants, at the remuneration of one dollar and a half per day, when employed. In the event of a war with the Federal States, volunteer regiments of militia may be enlisted for general service during the war, in addition to the active and sedentary militia. By the tenth section of the act, the Commander-in-Chief is empowered to sanction the organization of associations for the purposes

of drill, and of independent companies of infantry, consisting of professors, masters, or pupils of universities, or of persons engaged in or about the same, who are to provide their own arms, accoutrements, and clothing, and to receive no pay.

I was invited to dinner one evening at the hospitable mansion of the late Mr. Stewart Derbyshire, the Queen's printer—a generous-hearted, highly-gifted, and popular English gentleman; who, for services rendered to Spain, was honoured with the ribbon of a noble order. Amongst the distinguished company present was Colonel Lysons, C.B., who had been despatched to Canada some months before by the Imperial government in order to organize the militia, and who, upon being recalled, was about to sail for Europe.\* He appeared greatly chagrined at the failure of his mission and the frustration of his plans. During the evening he afforded me considerable insight into the merits and advantages of the rejected bill, which left no doubt on my mind that in a military sense he was right, however impracticable may have been the

\* Colonel Lysons has since revisited Canada, and occupies the distinguished military post of Quarter-Master General in Montreal, an office which his high soldierly talents and attainments will, doubtless, enable him to fulfil both with honour to himself and advantage to the service.



carrying out of its details. Next day I received from him a pamphlet, which he had written, entitled "Parting Words on the Rejected Militia Bill." The gallant author's object evidently was, judging from the perusal of this *brochure*, to correct misrepresentations with respect to the intentions of the Commission in regard to the volunteers of Canada, who had shown zeal and devotion in preparing for the defence of their country. Colonel Lysons observes :—

"Had the proposed system been carried out, I cannot but think that it would have gained popularity day by day in its working in the rural districts, and would soon have become so completely interwoven in the habits and ideas of the people that nothing would have interrupted its welfare."

He concludes by remarking :—

"In taking leave of the people of Canada, I can assure them that I have conscientiously laboured in their cause, and have recommended what my experience in military matters has led me to believe was necessary for their safety in case of attack. I feel certain that no amount of desultory drill, no amount of theoretical knowledge without practice, will be a sufficient protection to them in the hour of danger. Nothing short of a broad organization, which will enable

this Province to put forth her whole power in the very best formation, under the most advantageous circumstances, will enable her to preserve her liberty and her independence in case of a war with the neighbouring States."

And here it is but just to mention that the popular clauses in the defeated bill were of the ex-ministry's initiation; the obnoxious clauses having been forced upon them by the Commission. It was thought that two hundred and fifty thousand dollars voted in the supplementary estimates by the new cabinet would, if properly and judiciously applied, more than double the active militia force then existing.

The volunteer movement in Quebec had only just commenced to crawl. In no part of Canada was such sluggishness and supineness manifested amongst the militia forces. Should the citizen soldiery happen to be called together for purposes of drill, but few of them would muster. Owing to this apathy, officers of battalions and companies thought it advisable not to summon their respective corps at all.

"I have raised several companies," observed the Honourable Mr. Couchon, ex-Commissioner of Works, one day to me, "but I could never get my men together. Sometimes they could not even be found."

From notifications in the local journals, I discovered that a few energetic commanders of companies attempted the experiment of inducing the volunteers to assemble for instruction, though I believe with dubious results.

The annexed return, exhibiting the strength of the Active Volunteer Force in Quebec, was, upon my solicitation, kindly furnished to me by the Adjutant-General :—

DENOMINATION OF CORPS.	STRENGTH.
Quebec Field Battery	70 men.
1st Quebec Foot Artillery Company	84 "
2nd ditto	50 "
3rd ditto	80 "
4th ditto	50 "
Quebec Engineers	50 "
1st Levl's Troop of Cavalry	43 "
1st Quebec ditto	53 "
2nd ditto	50 "
3rd ditto	64 "
7th Battalion Rifle Volunteers	540 "
8th ditto	421 "
9th ditto	400 "
Major Corneil's Volunteer Rifle Company	50 "
Civil Service Rifles	107 "
Total strength	2112

It is much to be lamented that the volunteer body should be found in such a comatose condition, although one would surmise that the presence of a large garrison would stimulate the stolid spirit and dormant energies of the people.

The debates in the British parliament, on the defences of Canada (which directly followed the

rejection of the Militia Bill), and the comments of influential metropolitan journals thereupon, produced a very strong and irascible feeling throughout the Province. The Canadian press bristled with sharp strictures upon those English peers and English editors who presumed to school and to scold Canadians into the adoption of a policy which Canadians themselves considered impracticable. A good deal of grumbling and growling was indulged in, mingled with not a little sulkiness; while England was plainly and pertly told to mind her own business—that Canada must not be dictated to—that Canadians know their own affairs best, and would not be forced like slaves at the crack of the English manufacturers' whip-lash!

One journal, somewhat remarkable for croaking and crotchets, asserted that "the rejection of the Militia Bill brought in by the late government was but a pretext for the present ebullition of ill-humour," and that "the true grievance is to be traced to the fiscal policy which this country has thought proper to adopt." The truth is, that Canada has become a spoiled child of the mother-country. She has, from her infancy, been so delicately nurtured and petted that she cannot brook being chided, but grows fretful and restive upon being reprimanded for her faults or directed

in her duty. The New York press, and the *Herald* in particular, expressed sympathy for the Canadians, who were said to be "sharply stung by the snubbing and sneers" they had received, and to be the victims of "studied contempt and studied indifference." Even the *Herald* went so far as to observe, "We should not be surprised if the reaction of feeling produced by the recent display of English indifference to them should lead to the Canadians either setting up for themselves or annexing their territory to the United (Northern) States!"

This affected sympathy of the New York press was, however, estimated at its proper worth; and several journals vehemently denounced the vile insinuations therein contained. The Canadians do not possess such defective mental vision that they could be imposed upon by so flimsy a disguise. The desire for 'annexation' is entirely unknown in Canada. There is no party in the Province who favour such a project.

"In the depths of our colonial ignorance and prejudice," observes the *Chronicle*, "we fail to see the advantages that would accrue by rending a connection with the greatest and most beneficent Power in the world for one whose political theories and practices are of the narrowest and most retrograde kind. We cannot detect the gain to be derived from

giving up a condition of peace and prosperity to become a participant in civil war, with all the ruin and misery it entails. . . . In a word, we regard the idea of annexation as a solemn humbug, which among Canadians is never approached but with derision; and the sooner our neighbours quite comprehend this truth the better for them. It may save them a fatal *faux-pas* some day.”

These sentiments, I feel persuaded, properly represent the feeling of the whole Canadian population. Discussing the mooted subjects of a French protectorate and annexation with the Northern States, *Le Journal de Quebec* thus flatteringly refers to the benefits conferred upon Canada by her existing relations with the mother-country:—“We are in a most exceptional position, and he would be blind indeed who cannot understand the immense advantage we enjoy in living under the shelter of the British flag; and guilty—yes, extremely guilty—those men who, for a local and momentary triumph, would attempt to drive us to another state of things.” The writer then discusses in an able manner the inevitable evils that would ensue should the country enter upon a new state of political life.

Canadians aver that English people know but little about either the inhabitants or the resources

of their country. If such statement be true there are abundant excuses for our alleged ignorance in these respects ; but there can be no such extenuation for that of the Americans. And yet the gross ignorance betrayed by the journalists of New York was unprecedented when they hinted the probability or advocated the desirability of the annexation of Canada. Their ignorance was only equalled by their impertinence, and the mock sympathy they extended to our colonists, whom they characterised as the victims of "studied contempt and studied indifference." The Canadians were not so thin-skinned as to feel either 'disgusted' or 'snubbed' because the English parliament and the press did not exactly compliment or flatter them. They can bear reproof from England, even if unjustly offered ; nay, they will even brook dictation ; but they spurn the maudlin sympathy of the Federal States, and deprecate individually and collectively a closer connection with them than that which the growth of mutual commerce has engendered.

Did some English journalists but anticipate the immense merriment which their sage lucubrations would receive in our Canadian dependency, assuredly their scribes would have been silent instead of prating about subjects they did not comprehend. The *Morning Star*—that brilliant luminary in a

Bright constellation—emitted rays, which, however dazzling to the politicians of Manchester, flung a total eclipse over the mental horizon of those resident in Canadian latitudes.

“If,” observes that sapient organ, at a time of considerable excitement, “the Canadians be not invincibly loyal they will forthwith set up as an independent state. Never had a people such encouragement to assert for themselves a place among the nations. Not only are they plainly told that Great Britain will make no effort to hold them to their allegiance, but they are almost scolded for continuing a connection in which, it is said, all the advantage is on their side. They are reproached with insensibility to their duties and with an undue enjoyment of their privileges. They are threatened with desertion if ever an occasion should arise to which the help of the mother-country is needed. The young bird, having outgrown its subjection to the parental will, is stimulated by beak and claws to take its flight; and if we are not mistaken in the nature of the fledgeling, it will presently plume its wings and soar away with a scream of conscious power.”

Even when Canada was assailed in both Houses of parliament she was as devotedly attached to the Crown of England as she had ever been. Not only so, but she exhibited dignified meekness and



composure under the severe castigations she received from certain noble lords and the public journals, under the belief that when this country was duly informed of the complicated causes that led to the throwing out of the Militia Bill, and the consequent dissolution of the government, that her loyalty would not be impeached. Her "withers" did not "wince" under the castigations she received, however undeserved. Nor had she then, as now, the slightest desire of throwing off the English yoke, pluming her young wings, and "Soaring away with a scream of conscious power"—whither the oracle did not say. People are not addicted to 'tar and feathering' in Canada; but were the writer who advanced such unsavoury and disloyal sentiments there at one time, I am inclined to think that institution would have been improvised for the nonce.

It is but just, nevertheless, to observe, that the debates in the English parliament upon our colonial defences met with a very unfavourable reception from one portion of the Canadian population. French journals generally employed most trenchant language in denouncing the sentiments uttered in those discussions. The leading French organs in Quebec are *Le Courrier du Canada*, and *Le Canadien*. The former had been Conservative in its principles, but was subsequently reputed

to be under the influence of the Catholic priesthood. With regard to the latter, it became the avowed organ of the French members of the newly-formed Cabinet, who purchased it about a month previous to the ministerial dissolution. This journal was conducted by M. Barthé, whose hostility to England is well known, having published some few years since a *brochure* entitled "Canada Reconquered by France."

Animadverting upon Lord Palmerston's observations on the occasion of the debate, *Le Courrier* contended that his lordship could not have meant what he said, or have spoken more adversely of a colony that he was about to abandon to its fate; that the Government of England had assumed a fearful responsibility; that the policy of that country was based upon egotism and fear; that the allusion to the danger from America was but a pitiable excuse; and, finally, that the abandonment of Canada was a project deeply seated in the breast of the British parliament.

Commenting on the same fertile topic, *Le Canadien* grew vituperative and surly, and grow ed like a bear with a sore head. "It is useless," this uneasy and querulous organ remarked, "to disguise the fact, that Canada understands her duties and her interests better than to change her

obligations from day to day merely to suit the views of England. It is an absurd idea to talk of enrolling our peaceable agricultural population for soldiers, and placing them upon our already exhausted treasury. From that we should be led to the construction of gunboats, the raising of bastions, the fortifying of posts, and the formation and defence of strategic points—thus incurring fabulous expenses. Such is the extravagant folly of those who endeavour to charge Canada with a million and a half for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company. We may as well put Canada up to auction . . . . . Let England henceforth understand that the colonies are not children, but must be treated as those who have arrived at maturity, upon fundamental questions affecting their destiny. . . . . The Canadian parliament to-day, as in 1812, has been faithful and true in its determination. There is no recoil but before impossibilities, and *who will dare push us to that?*"

Such is the gist of the rabid article that appeared in *Le Canadien*.

My impression is that Canada had been more or less traduced by certain members of the British parliament, and by one at least of the leading journals. The rejection of the Militia Bill had given rise to much false conjecture.

## THE VOLUNTEER FORCE.

People at home naturally enough inferred that this act of the Canadian legislature reflected injuriously upon the loyalty of the Canadians generally. So far as regards the real merits of the intended measure, I did not hear a dissentient or disparaging voice; but, however excellent, it was utterly impracticable, and therefore was voted down. Out of a sparse population of two and a half millions it would surely be difficult to raise a body of active militia one hundred thousand strong. But even if this could have been accomplished, how were farming labours to be carried on meanwhile? The necessities of the country would not admit of such an abstraction of labour, and at a particular season of the year, when the crops required to be cut and garnered.

The effective volunteer force of Canada, existing and recognised by the Government at the time the projected Bill was introduced into parliament, amounted to 14,219. Of these 10,615 were infantry, 1687 were artillery, and 1615 were cavalry, in addition to 200 engineers. Other corps were undergoing drill instruction, and only awaiting Government recognition to be armed, accoutred, and regularly enrolled. These unrecognised companies would have raised the aggregate militia force of the Province to something over 16,000 effective troops. The new act, however, author-

ised the enrolment of 10,000 additional volunteers, thereby augmenting the active strength of that defensive body to 26,000. So far Canada considered she had done her duty, and as much as could reasonably have been expected from her. Hence she chafed under the animadversions flung so recklessly upon her energy and her allegiance, as though she were some political changeling, who had evinced no attachment for her natural parent.

Another consideration is that in Canada there are very few individuals who can properly be designated wealthy. Everybody has to labour in one sphere or another, and labour constantly too. When this circumstance is duly weighed, it will be found that our colonists are neither regardless of their obligations nor indifferent to the just demands of the English Government; and that an active force of 26,000 volunteers, raised under such conditions and disadvantages, is an honourable evidence of Canadian loyalty. Of this I feel fully persuaded, judging from the universal, undisguised sentiment of the people, that should England unfortunately become embroiled in hostilities with the Federal States, and Canada become the battle-ground, there would not be wanting willing hearts and brawny hands to fight in defence of the flag that

“ Braved a thousand years,  
The battle and the breeze.”

## CHAPTER VI.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LAVAL.—THE GRAND AND  
LITTLE SEMINARIES.

Grant of a Royal Charter—Prince of Wales' Visit—Institution of a Prize—Outline of the Buildings, Cabinets, Museums, etc.—Pupils and Professors—The Late Rector—The Grand Seminary for Theological Students—Financial Position of the University—Costume of the Scholars in the Little Seminary—Residence of the Priests—Monseigneur De Laval—His Educational Labours—A Combination of Mishaps.

THE principal educational institution in Quebec is *L'Université-Laval*. It was commenced in 1852, upon the grant of a Royal Charter by Queen Victoria, on the joint recommendation of the Executive Council of Canada, Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, and Sir John Pakington, the Colonial Secretary. The cost of its construction amounted to forty-five thousand pounds. In appearance it is extensive, but unimposing; the main building being of oblong form, two hundred and eighty feet long, fifty feet wide, and five stories high. It has a flat roof, with a sanded platform running the entire extent of the edifice, railed round with strong wooden pillars. Here the students

occasionally walk, talk, smoke, and otherwise recreate themselves. On one side of the platform is a capacious water tank, always supplied so as to be available in case of fire. The site—especially the view from the summit—commands an extensive prospect of the majestic St. Lawrence, and the vast amphitheatre of massive mountains that lift their rugged crests as far as eye can stretch, until their misty forms are lost among the clouds. When the Prince of Wales visited Quebec, he generously contributed the sum of two hundred pounds to the University, so that a prize has been founded, called the “Prince of Wales’ Prize,” for which the pupils annually compete.

Long prior to the grant of the Royal Charter and the erection of the new building, a scholastic foundation stood, and still stands, upon this spot, to which Pius IX. has accorded the privileges of a university. It is divided into two branches, distinguished as the *Grand Séminaire* and the *Petite Séminaire*. The branch attached to both colleges is now termed the University. Here the principal arts and sciences are taught under competent professors, two of whom belong to the Anglican communion. This seems a very politic arrangement, as the privileges of the institution are open to pupils of every creed.

The great hall, wherein public ceremonies take



place, degrees are conferred, and public lectures are delivered, is one hundred and fifty feet in length, and can comfortably accommodate over two thousand persons. Galleries extend all round this department, to which ladies are exclusively admitted. On the ground floor, a room is appropriated to Indian antiquities. These consist of skulls, stone pipes, pottery, axes, arrows, and tomahawks, the last of which, in all probability, have been embued in the blood of the white man during many sanguinary conflicts. On one of the pipes a fox's head is carved, and so excellently is it executed as to impart to the figure a semblance of life. In the centre of another department was displayed a valuable collection of medical instruments, manufactured in Paris for the institution. These were carefully protected against atmospheric influences by tight-fitting glass cases. Similar cases, only differing in form, were arranged at either side of the Museum, wherein are preserved a rare collection of casts, skeletons, and human bones, originally brought from the French capital.

The University likewise possesses a fire-proof chemical laboratory, on the plan of that at King's College, London; replete with every modern improvement. This department is under the superintendence of a talented American, Dr. Sterry Hunt, F.R.S. The Cabinet of Natural Philosophy



## ENGLISH AMERICA.

is similar to that at Brussels, and cost about three thousand pounds. For the most part the extensive apparatus was manufactured in Paris and London; but a portion of it came from the States. In addition to these are Geological and Mineralogical Museums—the latter embracing a rich collection expressly prepared by the late eminent Abbé Haüy, whose name is extensively known in European scientific circles. In other departments of a like nature, I observed French and Canadian specimens. These are likely to become extensive, as the local Government have pledged themselves to present to the institution specimens of minerals and geological fossils. In an adjacent room was a magnificent array of crystals, said to be highly valuable. Another apartment was devoted to zoology; but, save a carabou, or Canadian deer, badly stuffed, there was nothing to excite particular attention.

There is a spacious, well-lighted, and airy lecture room, for the elucidation of history and philosophy. The professors' chair is of Canadian black walnut, a timber almost undistinguishable from rosewood. Over the chair stands, boldly displayed, the coat-of-arms of the Faculty of Arts, consisting simply of an open book, surmounted by entwined laurel leaves. An immense apartment, embracing two storys formed into one, is appro-

priated to the Library. Therein are deposited twenty-eight thousand volumes, comprising history, theology, science, Latin and Greek classics, and numerous works in English, French, Spanish, and German. The proportion of English and French literature is about equal. Two excellent reading rooms are set apart for the use of the students—to one of which only those who are studying medicine gain admission. The dissecting-room is a large, well-ventilated, and appropriately furnished chamber, possessing every modern appliance. To this apartment no pupil has access without one of the professors being present. Such I regard as a salutary arrangement, which may be beneficially followed in other schools of a similar character, both at home and abroad. There are three terms in each scholastic year, each of three months' duration. The pupils are required to be familiar with English and French; lectures being delivered in both languages, at the option of the professors. About sixty-five young men were attending the University at the time of my visit; some of whom came from various parts of Europe and America. A private apartment, or robing-room, is assigned to each professor—and there are no less than thirty attached to the various chairs—an arrangement productive no less of public order than of private comfort.

The Council Chamber is spacious and handsomely furnished. Over the mantel-piece was a full-sized portrait of the Rev. Monsieur Casault, who died a short time before, and to whose funeral people flocked from all parts of the Province. The portrait referred to was presented to their Superior by the professors a few months previous to his decease, in testimony of their esteem and veneration. Casault was the Legislator and Rector of the University, and fulfilled his responsible trust with zeal, ability, and honour.

In close proximity to the chief edifice is a lofty structure used as a boarding-house by the students. This is capable of accommodating fifty persons. It contains an excellent saloon, furnished with a pianoforte, a smoking room, several studies, and every requisite for domestic comfort and cleanliness. A well arranged garden is attached to the college, adjoining which is an extensive playground. The entire group of buildings, which are laid out in quadrilateral form and cover a large area, may be classified as follows: Firstly, the Grand Seminary, where students live who are preparing for the priesthood; secondly, the Little Seminary, or college for the study of Classics; thirdly, the University for the prosecution of the several sciences. Connected with both colleges is a very antiquated French structure,

having massive stone walls, looking as though they were built for purposes of defence. Herein the ecclesiastics, or masters, reside. All the scholars in the *Petite Séminaire* wear a peculiar costume, consisting of a blue walking coat with facings of white braid, a cap of similar material, and a sash of green serge. This livery, although absurd enough, certainly looks far less grotesque than the monkish habiliments worn by the pupils of Christ's Hospital.

Respecting the financial position of the Laval University there is little to say, further than it is far from flourishing. Since the opening of the institution—just seven years from the time of my visit—over seventy-four thousand pounds have been expended. For the year 1861 the disbursements were 14,626 dollars, while the receipts from all sources merely amounted to 2,693 dollars, thereby leaving a deficit of 11,933 dollars. With such a paucity of pupils, the low charges demanded, and inadequate resources, I cannot see how the University can be efficiently maintained without liberal parliamentary appropriations.

And here it will be expedient to make a few remarks respecting that ancient institution, the Seminary of Québec. This establishment was originally founded and endowed by Monseigneur De Laval de Montmorency, the first Roman Ca-

tholic Bishop of that diocese, in the year 1663. At the outset it was principally intended for the education of a few candidates for the priesthood. When the Jesuit Order was abolished by the French Government, the members of the Seminary flung open its doors to the youth of the country; although the resources of the institution scarcely warranted such a generous act. Professorships were duly inaugurated, and the ordinary branches of education began to be taught. Twice, during the life of its founder, were the buildings of the Seminary burnt to the ground. The first fire occurred in November, 1708, during the absence of most of the ecclesiastics; when the bishop, who resided on the foundation, had to escape half-dressed from the burning edifice. The French Court, upon an urgent representation being made to it, granted an annual pension of four thousand livres towards its reconstruction and sustentation. After four years' labour had been bestowed upon the new structure, and when not far from completion, it was again set on fire through the negligence of a workman. The edifice was finally rebuilt, but was again almost totally destroyed by fire during the siege of 1759, just previous to the famous battle of the Plains of Abraham, which won Canada for the British Crown. The disasters of the Seminary were not

even yet complete ; for it was once more partially consumed in 1772—a combination of mishaps truly.

The authority of the Seminary resides in a Board of Directors (one of whom is Superior), who are elected triennially. The other officers consist of two assistants ; the *Procureur*, a director of the theological department, or *Grand-Séminaire* ; the director and principal *Préfet des Etudes* of the college ; and the steward, or *Assistant-Procureur*. All of these, with the exception of the last-named, are appointed annually by the Board. The ecclesiastics, or members of the Seminary, receive no emoluments. The foundation simply guarantees to them “ food and raiment in sickness and in health.” They make no special vows, like members of monastic orders. Hence they are at liberty to resign their offices and leave the institution whenever any important cause arises to justify such a course. The pupils number over two hundred, about one-half of whom are *pensionnaires*, maintained on the foundation. In this institution no fees are paid for tuition. The boarders are required to pay 17*l.* 10*s.* per annum ; but in case of absence for eight days or over, a deduction is made accordingly. The day scholars disburse ten shillings in the Fall, and a similar sum in the Spring, to meet the cost of

wood, candles, etc. Large sums of money arising from the sale of property bequeathed to the institution by several wealthy individuals in France, previous to the French Revolution, and which has been recovered since the restoration of the Bourbons, have enabled the directors, since 1820, to re-build the Seminary on a more extensive scale than the original edifice.

Having been introduced, and politely conducted over the entire range of buildings by the Recorder, J. Crimazie, Esq., LL.D. (who likewise holds the chair of the Faculty of Law), and the Secretary, the Rev. Thomas E. Hamel, I was finally shown into the Chapel of the Seminary. Here are preserved valuable paintings by French Masters. The leading subjects are "The Flight of Joseph," by Jean Baptiste Vanloo, painter to the King of France, but who afterwards resided in London, where he obtained great fame; "The Wise Men of the East," by Bourien; "The Ascension," "The Day of Pentecost," and "St. Jerome Writing," by the brothers Champagnes; "The Trance of St. Anthony," by D'Avignes; and "Peter's Deliverance," by De la Fosse, a disciple of Le Brun, and whom Louis XIV. sent to Rome to complete his studies, where he imitated Titian and Paolo Veronese, and became an excellent colourist. Being addicted to large compositions,



he was much engaged in royal palaces and public buildings; and was finally invited to England by the Duke of Montague, who employed him in ornamenting his town residence, which occupied the site upon which the British Museum now stands. In addition to the works already mentioned, I observed excellent paintings by Halle, D'Hullin, Guillot, De Dieu Lagreneé, and Monet; but to my apprehension the most exquisitely executed of them all is a small oval picture representing "Two Angels," by Charles Le Brun, an illustrious French painter of Scotch extraction, who is said to have drawn figures with charcoal at three years of age! At either side of the grand altar, my attention was attracted to a large cabinet containing human skulls, and sundry fragments of bones, displayed in divers forms, and enclosed in a glass case—a shocking and repulsive sight.

"I perceive, Monsieur," I observed to the priest who accompanied me, "that you have got relics here; have the goodness to inform me whose they are?"

"Oh," rejoined the ecclesiastic, evidently startled at the boldness of my interrogation, "they are the relics of *unknown saints*."

I said no more, but cogitated considerably upon the candid, if not lucid, confession of the good but simple priest, who so far essayed to dispel my



heretical ignorance. After all, what a comforting doctrine is implicit faith ; from what mental misery and perplexity does it not sometimes save us !

Altogether my visit to Laval University was highly pleasurable. I regard such an institution, if properly conducted, and efficiently supported, of vital importance, and as calculated to break down the strong barriers of religious resentment and political party-feeling, so prevalent throughout Canada. In this seat of learning, Protestant and Catholic youth, while acquiring proficiency in the arts and sciences, may also learn lessons of no less advantage, because purely of a social character. The attrition of thought, similarity of pursuits, and continuity of intercourse necessarily engendered, will tend to foster those amenities of life, and that urbanity of demeanour and suavity of mind, calculated in themselves to destroy sectarian prejudices and party predilections—the unmitigated banes of the Province.

## CHAPTER VII.

## MORAL ASPECTS OF THE CAPITAL.

Separate School Systems—How Common Schools are Supported—Educational Statistics—The Old Jesuit College Metamorphosed into a Barrack—Preponderance and Description of Crime—Visit to the Gaol—What Constitutes "Hard Labour"—The "Room of Records"—Condition of the Prison and the Prisoners—Absence of Classification—Gaol Dietary.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the system of public instruction has been but ten or twelve years in operation, elementary education is widely diffused throughout Canada, and schools are rapidly advancing in number, organization, and efficiency. Both sections of the Province enjoy separate school laws, adapted to the religious elements prevailing in either. The common schools are supported partly by Government, and partly by local, self-imposed taxation, and occasionally by the payment of a small monthly fee from each scholar.

One of the best educational institutes in Quebec is the High School. It was originally founded by the Rev. Dr. Cook, of St. Andrew's Church, who has been chairman of the Board of Directors

since its establishment. The first Rector was the Rev. Daniel Wilkie, LL.D., who died in 1852, through whose exertions this establishment became raised in importance.

Annexed is a synopsis of the elaborate educational statistics collected by the Inspectors of Schools, with reference to the district of Quebec, taken from the latest published returns:—

Elementary Schools	• 629	Pupils	• 34,957
Primary Schools	• 41	"	• 2,541
Dissentient Schools	• 11	"	• 365
Academies	• 14	"	• 997
Colleges	• 4	"	• 898
Normal School	• 1	"	• 94
Educational Convents	• 17	"	• 3,323
Independent Schools	• 110	"	• 5,924
Total Institutions	• 827	"	• 49,099

It is somewhat remarkable that out of over 49,000 scholars, only 6,400, or thereabout, attend the Roman Catholic public schools, including the University of Laval; and this, amongst a community of at least two-thirds French Canadians. When it is considered likewise that the convent schools afford the best education, the fact appears the more unaccountable.

The first school in Canada was opened in Quebec as far remote as 1632. At this time it contained but two pupils—a negro lad and an Indian boy, who were instructed in the rudiments of the French tongue, and initiated in the art of writing.

The following year the number of scholars increased to twenty, and by the assiduity and enthusiasm of its founder, this institution became the nucleus of the famous Jesuit College—a seat of learning wherein the course of study had been similar to that pursued in the College of Louis-le-Grand, Paris.

The history of the Jesuit College may be succinctly told. Two years after Champlain had resumed the government of New France, namely, in 1633, the foundation of the original College was laid. At this time there were but fifteen priests and four lay-brothers in Quebec, the latter being employed in the instruction of youth. The idea of establishing such a seminary was first entertained by the eldest son of the Marquis de Gamache, one Rene Rolhault, who had joined the Jesuit confraternity; to further whose project his family gave six thousand crowns in gold to the General of the Order. The capture of the city by the British retarded the prosecution of the plan; but after the Restoration, the original design was carried into execution. Accordingly, the foundation was laid with great ceremony in December, 1635. Five years after its erection the College was completely destroyed by fire. It was subsequently re-built in its present form, and on precisely the same site, and must, doubtless, have

looked imposing in its day. It is a large, quadrangularly-shaped stone building, and covers a considerable area of ground. The edifice looks gloomy and prison-like, and the open space within recalls anything but the idea of those umbrageous walks where the Jesuit fathers were wont, after the manner of philosophical sages of old—*inter sylvas academi quærere verum*.

Just as in England prior to the Reformation, the members of the Jesuit Order in Canada had acquired immense revenues. These were obtained by private purchases, by royal grants, and by the bequests and donations of devout and admiring Catholics. In 1764 the King of France abolished the dangerous confraternity, when its members sank down to the condition of humble citizens. The last Jesuit connected with the College was Father Casot, who died in 1800, when the property of the Order fell to the Crown, in which it is still vested. The spacious building is now devoted to the purposes of a barrack.

Having thus far treated of education, I now come to consider the condition of crime in Quebec. This I am enabled to do, owing to the kindness of his Honour the Judge of the Sessions of the Peace, who caused tabular statistics to be specially prepared for my information.

The total number of prisoners arrested by the

city police, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1861, amounted to 3,441. Of these 2,547 were men, and 894 women. The offences with which those persons were respectively charged are classified under twenty-eight heads, which it is unnecessary, and would prove wearisome, to particularise. I find, however, that the largest proportion of offences is manifestly traceable to inebriety. For example, the number of persons arrested for "drunkenness and impeding passengers" was 1,363 men and 289 women, making a total of 1,652; while those charged with breaches of the peace and resisting the police—very probably also the effects of intemperance—amounted to 198 men and 44 women, or an aggregate of 242 persons.

The next largest numbers charged with positive infractions of the law are as follows:—Larceny, 101 males and 45 females, altogether 146 cases. Then 87 persons were arraigned for offences against the bye-laws. The number of persons arrested for the higher class of offences is comparatively small, viz., murder, 1; manslaughter, 1; assault with intent to maim, 4; having on the person deadly weapons, 6; stabbing and wounding, 9; robbery with violence, 3. The number of "vagrants, and persons claiming protection for

the night," amounted to 1,192,—720 males and 472 females. It is certainly difficult to accredit that in a country like Canada, where labour is affirmed to be scarce and well remunerated, so many houseless wanderers should be found in one city during the brief period of twelve months. Surely there must be "something rotten in the state of Denmark" when such misery and destitution exist.

Of the 3,441 persons arrested by the police, and arraigned before the stipendiary magistrate, 1,892 were discharged (possibly for want of sufficient evidence to criminate); 384 were liberated upon payment of fine; 1,032 were committed in default of payment; 37 were bound over to keep the peace; 35 were committed for trial; 7 were committed for trial but admitted to bail; and 53 were summarily convicted of larceny and other offences of a directly criminal nature. Out of 21 insane persons, one only was removed to the Lunatic Asylum. These returns, however, must not be regarded as the true condition of criminality in this city. The police are inadequate to prevent, and too unsophisticated to discover crime. With a thoroughly efficient police organisation, the periodical criminal statistics would exhibit a more formidable array of derelicts than the re-

turns at present show, although for one city of a young colony the figures are strange and startling enough.

While in Quebec, I visited the Gaol in company with the Honourable J. Maguire, Judge of the Sessions. This building, situated in one of the best localities in the centre of the Upper Town, was erected during the administration of Sir James Craig, at a cost of 15,000*l.*, which sum was defrayed by the legislature out of the public treasury. The building was first occupied in 1814. Its length is one hundred and sixty, and its breadth sixty-eight feet. Adjoining the same, with a miserably confined court-yard between where the male prisoners occasionally take exercise, is the House of Correction for women. The entire structure is now in a most dilapidated condition, so much so, indeed, as to be almost uninhabitable. Besides the incapacity of the Gaol to accommodate the increasing number of prisoners, its internal arrangements are extremely deficient, and even wofully behind the age. A new prison, however, was in course of erection on the St. Foy Road, contiguous to the classic Plains of Abraham; but although the site is appropriate, I cannot speak approvingly either of the style or the plan of the structure. When this edifice will be completed there is no telling; nor do I believe



that the Apollo of the Board of Works could give any definite information on the subject, did he essay to oracularise. Private bickerings and cabalings had arisen between the architect and the builders, so that the former refused to certify for the works of the latter, and no compensation under such circumstances could be obtained from the Commissioner of Works. It was thought that the contractors would eventually have to abandon the undertaking. These remarks I make parenthetically, so now I revert to the old prison.

At the time of my visit there were 115 prisoners confined therein (73 males and 42 females), either under sentence or awaiting trial ; although I was informed by the jailer—a very common-place individual—that the inmates generally averaged 120. Of these 115 prisoners, two were committed for murder on the high seas ; one for wounding with intent to murder ; and the others comprised larceny, inebriate, and assault cases. No attempt whatever is made at classification ; nor, perhaps, would the resources of the Gaol admit of its being done thoroughly. Criminals of every grade freely associate together both by day and night ; for their sleeping cells abut upon their day rooms, or rather form enclosed recesses in these ill-constructed apartments.

In the men's ward I observed nine persons in a single room; while in the women's wards there were as many as nineteen prisoners in one room, and seventeen prisoners and five children in another. No wonder that the jailer should have observed to me—

“I assure you, sir, they go out much worse than they come in!”—a statement I was fully prepared to endorse.

“The inspection of a prison like the present Gaol at Quebec,” observes the Inspector, in his Report for 1860, “is unavailing. It is a mere temple of Cloacina, and a school of iniquity. With such materials nothing can be effected, and we must await, however impatiently, the new buildings, which will supply the means of a better organisation.”

The undeviating occupation of the male derelicts consists in picking oakum, which, lest it should perchance hurt or spoil their delicate fingers, is previously soaked in warm water until it becomes as plastic and soft as clay in the hands of the potter. How the London pickpockets and other felons, sentenced to “hard labour,” would relish such a pleasant mode of killing time! Contrary to the Prison Inspectors' rules, the prisoners are suffered to smoke—an arrangement

that, in consequence of the disagreeable odour permeating the building, is almost essential to render incarceration in such exiguous, foul-smelling wards bearable.

Certainly, the trenchant rebuke of the inimitable Sidney Smith does not apply to this penal establishment, however characteristic of others, namely, that "Since the benevolent Howard attacked our prisons, incarceration has become not only healthy but elegant, and a jail is precisely the place to which any pauper might wish to retire to gratify his taste for magnificence as well as for comfort."

The unconquerable repugnance to cleanliness manifested by the criminal classes generally, is very remarkable, and might furnish a subject for interesting inquiry to the social science philosopher.

"Prisoners dread the bath, sir," remarked the jailer; "some of them do not have an ablution until they come in here."

Iron bars having been foolishly placed in wooden sockets outside of the windows when the building was constructed, facilities were afforded for prisoners to cut away a portion of the framework, remove the obstruction, and so escape. Fifteen years ago it was not an unusual

occurrence for a number of felons to effect their freedom in this manner during a single night. Even in broad daylight the venture has been successful. Since the prison guard was instituted no escape has taken place; but such a precautionary measure should, assuredly, long before have been adopted.

One apartment in the prison is designated 'The Room of Records,' in consequence of the various felons from time to time confined therein, having carved their names and the dates of their incarceration on the floor, so as wholly to deface it. They take a secret pride in thus perpetuating their infamy. In illustration of the irradicable propensity to theft manifested by a certain class of offenders, the jailer informed me that some time back he had missed a silk pocket-handkerchief and another article of trifling value. After much fruitless inquiry, and repeated examinations of the prisoners' rooms, the missing articles were finally discovered concealed in the wall and beneath the flooring, a portion of which had been neatly and dexterously cut out, and the purloined property deposited therein.

Subjoined are the several dietaries for prisoners confined in the common Gaols of Canada:—

## CLASS I.

*Prisoners confined for any time not exceeding fourteen days.*

BREAKFAST.—One pint of oatmeal gruel and six ounces of bread.

DINNER.—Twelve ounces of bread.

SUPPER.—Same as breakfast.

All prisoners to have in addition one pint of soup at dinner twice per week ; those at hard labour to have the same quantity four times per week.

## CLASS II.

*Prisoners not employed at hard labour for periods exceeding fourteen days.*

BREAKFAST.—One pint of oatmeal gruel and eight ounces of bread.

DINNER (two days).—One pint of soup and eight ounces of bread.

Ditto (other two days).—Five ounces of cooked meat without bone, eight ounces of bread, and half a pound of potatoes.

Ditto (three days).—Eight ounces of bread, one pound of potatoes, or a pint of gruel when potatoes cannot be had.

SUPPER.—The same as breakfast.

## CLASS III.

*Prisoners employed at hard labour for any time exceeding fourteen days but not more than six weeks.*

BREAKFAST.—One pint of oatmeal gruel and eight ounces of bread.

DINNER (two days).—One pint of soup, and eight ounces of bread.

Ditto (three days).—Six ounces of cooked meat without bone, eight ounces of bread, and half a pound of potatoes.

Ditto (two days).—Eight ounces of bread, one pound of potatoes, or a pint of gruel when the former cannot be had.

## CLASS IV.

*Prisoners employed at hard labour for any period exceeding six weeks.*

BREAKFAST.—One pint of oatmeal gruel and eight ounces of bread.

DINNER (two days).—One pint of soup, eight ounces of bread, and six ounces of cooked meat.

Ditto (four days).—Eight ounces of bread, and half a pound of potatoes.

Ditto (one day).—Eight ounces of bread, one pound of potatoes, or one pint of gruel when potatoes cannot be had.

SUPPER.—The same as breakfast.

These regulations embrace the tables of diet for male prisoners. Those for women are somewhat similar, though considerably reduced in scale; in some instances as much as one-half. Generally, however, the difference does not exceed a couple of ounces. Water and salt are allowed in abundance. This is not the place to treat of prison reform; if it were, I should certainly recommend that the diet of prisoners be kept low; for, as an eminent English divine and satirist once observed:—

“There is nobody so gluttonous as a thief, and he will feel much more bitterly fetters on his mouth than on his heels.”

It is not an unusual occurrence for lunatics to be brought to gaol, where they remain five or six weeks, and sometimes longer, before they are transferred to suitable refuges. As many as seven insane persons are in prison at the same time. One poor, wretched object I observed chained in a cell. Gyves were placed round his bare leg, and fastened to a strong ring in the centre of the apartment. He looked exceedingly ferocious—and no wonder!—from the barbarous treatment he received. I did not conceive it possible to witness such a sight in any portion of the Queen's dominions. Another demented creature laboured under the delusion that he was going to be burned.

The day preceding my visit he made his way to one of the lofts and buried himself in oakum, so that the jailer thought he had effected his escape. My presence in the prison seemed to have augmented his delusion, for he remarked :

“ Ah, I know 'tis all over with me now. I am to be burnt directly, and you have come to arrange all about it !”

Nothing that I could say seemed to alleviate the horrible impression. Of course, you cannot reason a madman out of his delusions ; perhaps you rather augment his disease by the endeavour. I had not left the cell in which the wretched maniac was confined many minutes, when one of the prisoners rushed up to the jailer and informed him that when the poor fellow had his dinner served up, he seized a knife and attempted self-destruction by making a wide gash in his throat ! Surely, it is highly objectionable that the insane should be sent to such places, where, so far from assuaging their mental maladies, they are certain to become aggravated.

“ Inspectors say that there is no room for any more inmates in the lunatic asylums, and hence they are thrust in here, to the great disturbance of prison order and decorum.”

Such was the explanation afforded to me in extenuation of a grievous injustice and inhu-



manity, which the Legislature should speedily remedy.

From the "General Rules and Regulations for the Common Gaols, framed by the Board of Inspectors under the Consolidated Statutes," I find that the responsibility in such cases devolves on the sheriff. Rule twenty-six is to the following effect:—

‘Under our present laws, unfortunate lunatics are frequently placed, provisionally, in prison. While there they should be treated with all tenderness and care, and bestowed as carefully as circumstances will permit. It is, however, to be recollected that a common prison is altogether unsuited for these afflicted creatures, and it is therefore the duty of the sheriff to take such steps as the law prescribes for the early removal of persons of this class to a proper lunatic asylum.’

## CHAPTER VIII.

LUNACY IN LOWER CANADA.—THE ASYLUM AT  
BEAUPORT.

**Lunatics Originally Confined in Religious Houses—Their Condition and Treatment—Sir C. Metcalfe's Philanthropic Exertions in their Behalf—First Reception of Insane Persons at Beauport Asylum—Pleasurable Emotions Created in their Minds by the Change of Scene and Discipline—Description of the New Building and the Grounds—Patients and their Occupations—Rationale of Treatment Adopted—Library and News Room—Effects of Religious, Æsthetical, and Social Observances—Singular Examples of Mental Aberration—The Beauport Type of Insanity.**

In the picturesque village of Beauport, distant nearly five miles from Quebec, the Lunatic Asylum for Lower Canada is situated. The history of this institution is interesting, if only as an illustration of the growing intelligence, philanthropy, and enterprise of our colonists.

Towards the close of the last century an order in Council was passed, authorising an appropriation for the maintenance of insane persons in the Lower Province. Individuals labouring under aberration of mind were at this period entrusted

to the care of certain religious communities in the respective districts of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers. The Government granted an annual sum of 32*l.* 10*s.*, or 1*s.* 8*d.* per diem, for the support of each patient, besides making occasional trifling appropriations for the repairs of the buildings in which such persons were confined. As in similar European institutions at the period alluded to, the insane were deprived of liberty on the grounds of being unmanageable, and dangerous to the community, or to themselves. Few, if any, measures were adopted for their restoration to reason. They were incarcerated in separate cells, where the light and air of Heaven seldom penetrated; were shut out from intercourse with the world and each other, and left to brood in sullen solitude over their disordered fancies until they became demoniacal, rent their garments, and until, finally, what was but temporary cranial disorganization, ended in hopeless insanity or idiotcy, from which appalling condition death alone delivered them. Occasionally, perhaps, a patient was removed by his friends; rarely, indeed, was one discharged restored to reason. Over the portals of those conventual receptacles for the mentally infirm, might with truth have been inscribed the well-known epigram of Dante:

*"Lasciate ogni speranza, O voi che intrate."*

From time to time urgent representations were made to the Grand Juries with reference to the general unfitness of those religious foundations for the unfortunate inmates therein confined. Not the least objections were the damp, dirty, unventilated condition of the cells, and the general maltreatment undergone by the insane persons themselves. Even the "sisters" were desirous of being released from the grave responsibility which they had charitably undertaken. They repeatedly urged the unfitness of convents as asylums for the insane, and the desirability, and even necessity, for better means of accommodation.

Shortly after Sir C. Metcalfe had assumed the government of the Canadas (in 1843), in his speech at the opening of the Provincial Parliament, he advocated the importance of an improved system of treatment for the mentally afflicted. Accordingly, in the course of the Session, one member gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill to provide for the supervision and proper management of this class. Owing, however, to press of business, the Session passed over without any direct action being taken in the matter. During the recess, with praise-worthy philanthropy, the Governor-General caused the various religious establishments in which the

insane were incarcerated to be visited by Inspectors specially appointed for that purpose. These were authorised to prepare estimates of the cost attendant upon the removal to the country of such patients, together with the amount required for their due care, maintenance, and medical treatment. The Governor-General, at the ensuing meeting of the Legislature, again brought the subject of asylums for the insane before the House. But the Session was very short, and no further reference was made to the matter.

During the summer of 1845, his Excellency having entered into an agreement with three eminent medical gentlemen, directed that such insane persons as were then confined in the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers, should be removed to the temporary asylum prepared for their reception at Beauport. To this building they were accordingly transferred in the month of September following. The property whereon the asylum stood was leased for the purpose from Colonel Grugy, M.P.P., and comprised the manor house and extensive block of out-buildings, together with about two hundred acres of land. The grounds were diversified, sufficiently well-wooded, had a southern aspect, and commanded a fine view of the city and harbour of Quebec. At this time insane persons belonging to the district of

Montreal were immured in the common gaol of that city—a place destitute of almost every requisite for a lunatic asylum. It was densely surrounded by buildings; there were no grounds attached on which the patients could be employed; the yards were narrow and insufficient for the purpose of exercise; and, moreover, the structure itself was needed for more legitimate uses. Under these circumstances, Sir C. Metcalfe ordered the removal of lunatics from the gaol to the more fitting asylum at Beauport, the principal building of which was rendered capable of accommodating one hundred and twenty patients.

On the 15th September, insane persons in charge of the nuns of the General Hospital in Quebec were transferred to the new institution. One of these wretched creatures had been confined during twenty-eight years; several for upwards of twenty years; and the remainder for lesser periods—shut up in separate cells, in a low, one-storied building, surrounded by a strong cedar fence twelve feet high! None of these miserable beings had ever been permitted to leave the hospital—most of them not even the cramped cells in which they were immured. Excepting on an occasional visit from the Grand Jury, they had rarely seen a human countenance save those of the attendants who administered to their urgent

wants. Of these patients nearly all had contracted abnormal habits ; many were destructive, and the remainder either partially imbecile or wholly idiotic—

“ Monstrum horrendum informe horribile ingens.”

On the 28th of the same month, fifty-two insane persons were removed from the gaol in Montreal to the pleasantly situated institution at Beauport. Collectively they were much more intractable than those previously received from the other districts. As, however, their minds were less weakened by protracted confinement they became more amenable to the mild curative *régime* so humanely adopted and successfully pursued by Dr. Douglas and his excellent colleague, Dr. Frémont.

The following month seven additional patients were brought down from Three Rivers ; their condition being most deplorable. They arrived at Beauport chained and handcuffed. Some of them had been kept fastened to staples driven into the floors of their respective cells—an inhuman process which I have myself seen adopted in the gaol of Quebec ! When first approached these vengeful victims to ignorance and neglect, manifested a disposition to bite even when their hands and feet had been released. After a short residence in the



asylum, they grew extremely innocuous and docile.

Upon the arrival of the various batches of patients at Beauport, highly pleasurable emotions are said to have been excited in their breasts by the view of Quebec, the river, the trees, and the people who passed and repassed the adjacent road. Dr. Douglas informed me that it was most interesting to have witnessed the propriety of their conduct, to have observed their actions, listened to their conversation with each other, and the amazement with which they regarded everything around them. All traces of ferocity, turbulence, and acerbity had suddenly vanished. They found themselves again in the world, and treated humanely; so they endeavoured to merit a continuance of such kindness. One patient, a man of education and even talent, whose mind was in fragments, but whose recollection of a confinement of twenty-eight years was most vivid, wandered from window to window. He perceived Quebec in the distance, and knew it to be a city. He could comprehend ships and boats being on the river and in the bay, but he could form no idea of steamers. Before quitting the hospital, the "sisters" had clothed him and given him a pair of shoes. He remarked that he had been "a long time shut up, and that nineteen years had



transpired since he had last seen leather." Another patient, who had been immured twenty years and always evinced a turbulent disposition, demanded a besom and commenced sweeping lustily, insisting that the other patients should likewise employ themselves. He observed to the physician :

"These poor people are all fools. Now, if you will give me a constable's staff, you will see how I'll manage them and make them work."

The effects of a mild and soothing system of treatment were soon apparent in the improved health and spirits of the inmates of Beauport Asylum. They became stronger, eat and slept better, and some improved so far as to be restored to reason. In the majority of cases, however, mental disease had grown chronic or organic, and the faculties of the brain had been so weakened by long disease as to preclude any possible hope of recovery. On the 1st October, 1845, the number of insane persons in the temporary asylum was eighty-two. From that period, to the 1st October, 1848, there were admitted two hundred and thirty-four cases, the greater number of whom had, for years previously, been subjected to treatment that tended to confirm and augment their mental maladies. Of these cases forty-three were brought to the institution within one year, suffering from a first attack of disease.

Twenty-one of the latter were discharged, only two of whom subsequently exhibited symptoms of relapse.

The temporary asylum having become inadequate to accommodate the number of insane periodically crowding its wards, Dr. Douglas and his colleague entered into a further arrangement with the Government. The result was, that an elegant and commodious structure was erected on the same property, which is indisputably a commendable monument to private and philanthropic enterprise. The building is constructed of grey limestone, hammer-dressed, and laid in courses. It is roofed with slates—a very unusual thing in Canada—and surmounted with a handsome dome and lantern. The frontage, including the wings, is four hundred and eighteen feet in extent. The edifice itself consists of two stories, with basement and attics—the former being devoted to offices and furnace rooms. Apartments appropriated to the physician and superintendent are on the first story. On either side is a refectory, forty feet long, together with extensive corridors. The remainder of the story is divided into dormitories. The attics embrace large work-rooms in front, and sleeping rooms in each wing, at the extremity of which the “lodges” are situated, consisting of four day and thirty-two sleeping

rooms. Heat is supplied by means of seven furnaces placed in the basement story. Hot-air flues of German brick distribute in winter the heated air equally throughout the entire building, while, in summer, the same assist in maintaining a system of complete ventilation. The asylum is lighted by gas manufactured on the premises—a very complete apparatus having been imported from Scotland for this purpose. The gasometer is placed in a stone building specially prepared for its reception, and the gas is produced from coal at an expense little above the cost of oil; while the trouble, dirt, smoke, and danger inseparable from the ordinary means of lighting, are avoided.

The original kitchen, not sufficing for culinary purposes, a new one was constructed of stone (forty-five feet by twenty-five feet in extent and two stories high) in the rear of the principal building. The upper stories are appropriated to dormitories for the domestics. By the aid of steam and gas the cooking is now exclusively effected. This arrangement is found not only cleaner, but more efficient, manageable, and economical than the usual method; while, at the same time, it prevents the risk of fire. The house formerly devoted to laundry purposes and the manufacture of gas has been greatly increased in size, in which is erected an

English-made tubular boiler of thirty-five horsepower, which generates steam for cooking, and for warming the workshops and a portion of the centre building. A range of workshops have likewise been constructed for blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and other handicraftsmen, whose labour is turned to profit and mutual advantage. Bedsteads, beds, boots, shoes, and clothing—in fact, almost everything needed by the patients, are manufactured in the establishment.

One hundred and fifty acres of land are under cultivation, the field-work being entirely performed by the inmates. Cattle are reared on the farm, and daily slaughtered to supply the wants of the institution. The Rivière des Tanpières flows along three sides of the asylum, affording an abundant supply of the purest water. This is conveyed to large cisterns, placed in different parts of the building, by means of cast iron pipes, from a subsidiary reservoir situated on the north side of the stream. A powerful force-pump in the basement acts as a fire-engine, and is connected with a cast-iron pipe that traverses the institution. In this pipe several fire-plugs are inserted, to which India-rubber hose can be attached. Similar plugs are fixed to the water pipes in each lavatory. Upon the buildings, lands, outhouses, bakery, and work-

shops, upwards of twelve thousand pounds have been already expended. Every architectural arrangement and modern improvement that could in any way conduce to the comfort, enjoyment, welfare, and safe keeping of the insane, have been adopted, without regard to the pecuniary sacrifice thereby involved.

The rationale of treatment adopted, while it embraces supporting and tonic measures, is yet far from altogether ignoring or rejecting moderate local depletion and other antiphlogistic remedies. It does not appear, from what I could learn, that pharmaceutic treatment, *per se*, has influenced the results to any marked extent; while the moral treatment, sedulously pursued, has invariably been accompanied by corresponding beneficial results. This remedial mode of action may justly be regarded as the most important and the most difficult that could be undertaken, because it depends principally for its judicious exercise upon observation and experience. It may be defined as the employment of means best fitted to restore the sufferer to a healthy habit of thought and action. Of the various modes by which the patients are induced to practice self-restraint, regular employment is found to be most efficacious. Those kinds of occupations are preferred, both on moral and physical grounds, which are

accompanied by considerable bodily action—are agreeable to the patient, and opposed to the illusions of his disease. In accordance with these views the male patients are occasionally employed in the extensive farm and gardens (containing one hundred and sixty acres) connected with the institution, with the happiest effects both as regards their general health and ultimate recovery. Other employments have been introduced, but agricultural occupations are those which have proved uniformly beneficial, and have justified the estimation in which they are held. Suitable out-door work has not yet been devised for the women; useful labour having been found more beneficial than mere physical exercise. The consciousness to the insane of having done some good, either for themselves or their fellow creatures, affords them much satisfaction, and even happiness. Such exercises and amusements as bagatelle, back-gammon, and drafts, are powerful remedial auxiliaries, and are therefore repeatedly brought into requisition.

The asylum is supplied with a library, newspapers, and magazines, which advantages are eagerly seized and intensely enjoyed by a certain number of the inmates. The pleasing and gently stimulating entertainment thus afforded produces a charm which only those who are mentally

ostricised from society can rightly appreciate. If the insane mind be considered as altogether darkened, so that no interest can possibly be excited therein, owing to the incapability of mental exertion, from such an hypothesis, it would logically follow that reading was productive neither of pleasure nor profit. But I am confidently informed that experience does not justify such an assumption. The diet of the patients is liberal, and the description of food does not differ from that generally used by middle class society in Canada. Very little restraint is employed, and that rarely, and only under the most urgent circumstances. There is an ample and efficient body of attendants, who are held personally responsible for their respective charges, and Dr. Douglas is of opinion, that by unremitting care, kindness, and attention, mechanical restraint may, in a great measure, if not altogether, be dispensed with. A leathern belt and wrist straps are occasionally used for the purpose of preventing patients, during periodical paroxysms, from injuring themselves or others. For the same reasons and objects they are sometimes immured in cells. The average number of insane placed under such restraint, or in temporary seclusion, does not exceed half of one per cent. Very few of the patients are so utterly devoid of reason as not to



appreciate and conform to rules and regulations which they know are directed to their personal welfare and comfort. Religious rites are strictly carried out every Sunday—Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains being engaged for the purpose of conducting their respective devotional services. The effects of these æsthetical observances on the minds of the patients, as remedial measures, have been strengthened and confirmed by experience.

During the winter months a weekly ball is given in the institution for the recreation of the inmates, to which friends are occasionally invited. Indeed, the Beauport Asylum, with its cleanliness, airiness, order, and arrangement, freedom from restraint, amusements, and balls, may be regarded rather in the character of a large social circle, or well-conducted private family, than as a receptacle for the insane. To an ordinary observer it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish many of the patients from their attendants or visitors. The more harmless are suffered to walk out daily, and they never abuse the privilege accorded to them. The regulations for the attendants and servants are extremely stringent, and are rigidly enforced. For a minor infraction of duty, the penalty is instant dismissal; for a greater violation of discipline—such as ill-treating a patient—instant dismissal and



reference to a police magistrate. In this, as in every other respect, it has been found, that for the prevention of transgression, the certainty of the punishment is more effectual than its amount. Such, likewise, is the doctrine laid down by Beccaria, the eminent jurist, in his celebrated treatise on "Crimes and Punishments."

I was accompanied over the asylum, out-houses, and grounds, by the principal physician and proprietor of the estate, Dr. Douglas, whom I had met by appointment, and who has an elegant private mansion adjoining the institution, designated by the title of "Glenalla." Most favourably was I impressed with the cleanliness, order, and quiet that prevailed, and with the general aspect of the inmates, four hundred and forty-six in number, comprising one hundred and ninety men and two hundred and fifty women. The spectacle, however, was a sad and saddening one. "There was a time that when the brains were out the man would die;" but here was congregated a large community, labouring under every known type of mental disorder, moving in a world of their own, each indifferent to the great world without, and living a kind of death-in-life existence!

Judging from the physiognomies and bearing of some of the most desperate lunatics, one would

imagine that they were the most gentle and harmless of human beings. But appearances, in such cases, are very deceptive.

A meek-looking young man, who was possessed of considerable pecuniary resources, had committed murder in Montreal the previous autumn. For this offence he was tried, convicted, and, the plea of insanity being received, was sentenced to confinement in the asylum. Whenever he imbibed spirituous liquors, his propensities became homicidal; otherwise his general conduct was irreprehensible, and such it continues to be. There are several similar cases. In the yard I observed a mere stripling, with whom I conversed through an open window. Why, what crime could that interesting, innocent-looking boy have perpetrated? None, an ordinary and unprofessional observer would unhesitatingly remark, had he been thus interrogated. But, oh! ye secret, mysterious workings of the human brain, how ye baffle human penetration and defy human ken! Yet, that lad, when but eight years of age, exhibited a horrible and incorrigible propensity to destroy whatever came within his reach. When but ten years old he cut his infant sister's throat, and afterwards set fire to the house in which his parents resided. Another gentle-looking young man, the brother of a Montreal merchant, whom

one would suppose incapable of harming a fly, used to gratify his destructive propensities when a mere youth by cutting off the tails of his brother's carriage horses. For this offence he was committed to prison. During his incarceration, having managed to get near a fellow-prisoner who was using an axe in chopping wood, he succeeded in getting hold of the weapon, with which he severed the poor wretch's head from his body. This patient has been over fifteen years in the asylum, and never gives trouble to his attendants.

Another inmate is an English woman, who has been incarcerated ten years. She first met with her husband when travelling in a railway carriage, made a hasty match, and got married in Liverpool. Subsequently, she resided with her husband and family at Sherbrooke, in the eastern counties of Canada. Some time after her husband's decease, she laboured under the delusion that she had a commission from Heaven to break all the windows of widows' houses. Armed with a plentiful supply of stones, she accordingly went abroad, and commenced the work of demolition. Of course she was secured and finally transferred to the asylum. A female of middle age has been an inmate of the institution for fourteen years. Unhappily she had been seduced when a girl; and this misfortune so preyed upon her mind that

incurable insanity is the result. The poor creature appeared exceedingly wild and intractable.

“Who is that English gentleman?” she remarked to the doctor; “he murdered my father and myself!”

A third female patient delusively fancies that she is afflicted with all manner of diseases at the same time, and gives much trouble to the physicians. The butcher to the establishment possesses a capital knowledge of all that appertains to cattle, but his madness is characterised by excessive garrulity.

“He would talk till to-morrow,” said Dr. Douglas to me, “provided he had any listeners.”

One case is very peculiar. It is that of a man named Marshall, who was once employed for several years as a clerk in the Commissariat Department. He imagines that he has been ill-used, and that the British Government is indebted to him some fifteen millions of pounds. On the subject of his peculiar grievance he has corresponded with the late Duke of Wellington, from whom he received an autograph letter assuring him that his Grace would inquire into the case. Marshall's first demand was for the comparatively trifling sum of 75,000*l.*; but as the War Office did not deem it expedient either to acknowledge or liquidate the claim, the authorities were informed that the

original amount would in future be decimally calculated. A period of fourteen years had elapsed since the original account was sent in; which sum, having been decimally increased annually, has caused the same to swell to the prodigious aggregate previously stated. Every six months this victim of an incurable delusion makes out an elaborate account,—calculated and rendered into Colonial currency, with the exactest nicety,—which is duly forwarded to Lord Monck or some other official personage. This poor maniac talks very rationally, intelligently, and connectedly on general topics; prominently exhibiting “method in his madness.” Some letters of his, written to a gentleman in Quebec, are in my possession, and as a psychological curiosity, are remarkable in their way. Two of them are dated from the “Cupola of the Queen’s Bethesda, Glenalla,” another designation for the asylum.

Dr. Douglas related to me the following singular story, which exhibits the curative advantages of a lenient system of treatment in dealing with the insane:

Several years ago a very bad case of mental aberration was brought to the asylum. It was that of a well-to-do farmer, a married man, whose recovery was considered all but hopeless. After the lapse of several months this patient

escaped, wandered about the country, and was finally returned to Beauport.

Dr. Douglas being addicted to fishing, was one day induced to take this poor man with him on an angling expedition. He appeared highly delighted with the excursion and the sport. Next morning, greatly to the surprise of the physician, the patient requested that he might be suffered to renew the same recreation, faithfully promising to return to the institution. After considerable hesitation, permission was accorded; although grave doubts were entertained of the man's sincerity. This privilege, however, was not abused; and as the patient seemed to improve by the gentle excitement the amusement occasioned, he was allowed to indulge his predilections very frequently. Permanent recovery was the gratifying result. For three years this man has been residing on his farm, in the full enjoyment of mental health. He keeps up regular correspondence with Dr. Douglas, to whose leniency he attributes his freedom from a malady with which he had been so long afflicted. It appears that when a boy he was passionately fond of angling. To the renewal of an employment, therefore, to which he was addicted in early life, is attributed his almost miraeulous restoration.

There is a peculiar feature in this institution, not observable in any similar establish-

ment in the world, namely, the excessive presence of hereditary taint. The major portion of the inmates consists of French Canadians, whose mental disorders are aggravated by cretinism, and whose individual cases are hopelessly chronic. This terrible state of things is the result of intermarriage between the same stock. There are now residing in the little village of Beaufort, several French Canadian families, whose predecessors have for more than three generations intermarried together. It is no uncommon occurrence to have at one time in the asylum mothers and daughters, brothers, sisters, and brothers and sisters. Nothing is more certain than that the physical and mental qualities of parents are congenitally transmitted to their offspring; and the same law holds good with respect to the transmission of specific and well-defined diseases, more especially when of a mental character. The effects of intermarriage in deteriorating the species, became palpable to my view while beholding those miserable creatures to whom the terrible curse had been transferred. The divine human type seemed either partially obliterated or entirely lost; and one patient, a Roman Catholic priest, possessed a countenance scarcely distinguishable from that of a baboon—a most sad, sickening, and revolting sight!




One noticeable fact is, that out of four hundred and forty-six patients, only seventy-five are Protestants. It is well known by medical practitioners who devote their attention to mental affections, that members of the Roman Catholic communion, rarely, if ever, are affected with religious insanity like those of Protestant communities, simply because there is no such stimuli for the imagination in its peculiar doctrines, and because its votaries do not trouble themselves to such an extent about matters of intellectual faith. The great preponderance of Roman Catholics in the asylum would, therefore, be unaccountable were it not apparent that such a result was traceable to congenital causes. The insane of both sexes are divided into seven specific classes, and treated according to principles which have been found to work beneficially. They are all addicted to the use of snuff and tobacco, and some evince a strong craving for money. I distributed a few coins among some of the women; but I was shortly surrounded by a clamorous group of bedlamites, from whom I had difficulty in effecting my escape. Although the Beauport Asylum is a private undertaking, and exclusively dependent on the proprietors with regard to its domestic management, still the treatment of the



inmates is subject to the control of a Board of Commissioners, appointed by the Government, who pay for the insane an annual subsidy of one hundred and forty-one dollars, or thirty pounds each.

Large, airy, and well-arranged as the asylum is, it cannot be denied that its advantages are more or less deteriorated by overcrowding; so much so, indeed, as to have attracted the attention of the authorities. It is clear, therefore, that the institution is insufficient for the increasing wants of the Lower Canadian population.

Dr. Douglas, the principal of the institution, is a remarkable man. A Scotchman by birth, he is possessed of that sagacity, shrewdness, and perseverance, for which his countrymen are generally proverbial. Although "silvered o'er with years," he is nevertheless wiry and energetic. His success with the insane is unprecedented—a circumstance borne out by the fact, that, notwithstanding having from time to time under his charge the most violent and morbid of patients, not one of them has succeeded in committing suicide. Every winter the doctor makes a pilgrimage to Egypt, where he passes much time in exploring interesting localities; and, as he perfectly understands photography, in taking




views of the chief monuments of antiquity. These he has collected into several quarto volumes, together with typographical descriptions and explanations from the agile pen of his son, the Rev. Mr. Douglas.

Having inspected the asylum, we adjourned to dinner. After that repast was finished, we started off in a light barouche a distance of several miles for the purpose of fishing in the river St. Charles—angling being a favourite sport with the doctor. For part of the way the road was pleasant to get over, but when we reached the mountain the jolting between broken pieces of rock and deep ruts was excruciating. In fact, we had to make a highway, in the absence of a regular road. Fortunately the horse did not break his neck, though he endangered ours. We could not get nearer than within a mile of the river, owing to the deep decline, and other obstructions; so we had to walk the remainder of the distance. The sight of the river had an exhilarating effect upon my companion, who, having prepared his line, walked right up to his hips in the water without taking the trouble to change his garments. I was not exactly in the proper mood for fishing, and certainly was determined not to get wet for the sake of the questionable pleasure the occupation afforded. Consequently, I angled for some

time on the brink of the river, but my industry not being rewarded, I flung down my rod in despair—not to resume it again. Dr. Douglas continued in the water for nearly two hours, although his “catch” was but indifferent—anything but a commensurate recompense for his industry. Finally, quite tired out, we started off by the way we came, encountering similar, if not more formidable difficulties than before.

I was truly glad when I reached Glenalla again, where I was regaled with some of the fish my host had caught. Later in the evening we adjourned to the “Egyptian Museum”—a saloon in the house, filled with numerous relics and mummies, discovered or procured by the doctor while in the East. In this *sanctum sanctorum*, quite unique in its way, I spent a highly agreeable evening, squatted on an ottoman, *à la Turque*, drinking very strong coffee and smoking Turkish tobacco out of a genuine chebouque—rather a pleasurable contrast to the sombre experiences of the day. The night of suffering that ensued, however, I shall never forget. The tortures inflicted on Tantalus were light compared to mine. Whether it was the effect of visiting the asylum, of drinking the coffee, of smoking, or of the three combined, I cannot say, but my brain became excited to a high pitch. No amount of cham-



paigne it would be possible to imbibe could have produced anything like the abnormal condition under which I laboured. Even when tired nature had induced brief snatches of intermittent repose, my half-extinguished thoughts reverted, with stubborn obstinacy, to the harrowing scenes of the previous day. Again I observed, in all their hideous deformity, and with keener perception, the glaring eyes, the dejected looks, the imbecile acts, and heard the wild shrieks and clamorous importunities, of the several hundred maniacs whom I had before encountered, until—O, horror of horrors!—I partially fancied that my own brain had *collapsed* in presence of the crushing spectacle.

## CHAPTER IX.

## MONTREAL.

**Situation and Extent of the City—The “Mountain”—Judicial Divisions of the Province—Foundation of Montreal—Position of an Early Governor—The *Coueurs de Bois*—Social and Commercial Progress—Railroads and Canals—Transformations—The Corporation—Assessed Property—Conspicuous Public Edifices—Eyesores—Scotch Settlers—Nelson’s Monument—The Volunteer Movement—Allegiance of the People—Prince of Wales’ Fishing Club—Evils of Garrison Life.**

MONTREAL is an island thirty-two miles long and nearly eleven miles broad, covering an area exceeding ten thousand acres. It is situated at the confluence of the Ottawa river with the St. Lawrence, and is distant from Quebec one hundred and sixty-eight miles. The town was originally laid out by imperial command, when Canada formed part of the French empire, so that vessels could proceed as high up the channel as possible. To the eastward the shores are several feet above the level of the St. Lawrence, but fall lower in the opposite direction towards Lachine. There are two mountains in the vicinity, the larger of which is situated to the rear of the city, and ornamented with numerous handsome villas and

gardens. Its summit is densely covered with trees. Round this circular hill is a favourite and fashionable drive, affording a prodigiously extended prospect, over which the eye wanders admiringly. On the eastern side of the "Mountain" are luscious orchards, which in the season supply choice fruits of delicious flavour, among which may be mentioned the *Pomme de Neige* and the *Pomme Gris*.

This city was once the capital; but now simply forms portion of a district. The entire Province is judicially divided into five districts; three superior, embracing Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, and two inferior, such as St. Francis and Gaspé. These all possess courts of judicature. In the superior districts the jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench is unlimited; but is circumscribed in the inferior by the power of appeal. It is imperative that all prosecutions for capital offences be heard in the courts of superior districts.

Montreal, the second city in political dignity, but the first in commercial importance, of English America, presents an agreeable and interesting study, no less for the philosopher than the traveller. It was founded in 1642, by one M. de Maisonneuve, Governor of the Island, on the site of an Indian village, called Hochelaga, and dedi-

cated, amid public rejoicings, to the Virgin Mary as its patroness and protectress. For a long time it bore the appellation of Ville Marie. In 1644, this beautiful domain became the property of the Sulpician Order at Paris, by whom it was subsequently transferred to the Seminary of the same religious fraternity at Montreal. Ever since 1663, when Louis XIV. resumed his right over the island, and changed its direction from an ecclesiastical mission to a temporal government, has its prosperity increased. Under British rule, especially, its commercial progress has been marked. But what a striking contrast does Montreal present in this year of Grace, and during 1735, at which time Baron Lahontan visited it? when M. Perot, the governor, had but a thousand crowns a-year salary, and was driven to trade with the savages to augment his resources—when the bailiff of the town got nothing by his place—when merchants effected two hundred per cent. in exchanging comparatively worthless kettles, axes, knives, and such commodities, for valuable skins and furs—and when, in fine, the streets of Montreal witnessed the dissipation and rioting of pedlars, called *Coueurs de Bois*, who lavished, eat, drank, and played all away, so long as their goods held out; but when they were gone, sold their embroidery, lace, and clothes, until they

were compelled to make another perilous voyage for subsistence.

The city is laid out in the form of a parallelogram, and contains about two hundred streets, and a population, within the city limits, of ninety-one thousand, nearly one-half of whom are French, and the remainder of British and other origins. An additional population of ten thousand four hundred occupy the suburbs, augmenting the total number of inhabitants to one hundred and one thousand four hundred. Montreal presents the appearance and possesses the elements of a great and growing city. Within the short space of nine years its population has increased over thirty-two thousand, and during the same period its entire aspect has changed. Tangible signs of progress, strangely blended with the decayed and decaying relics of the past, meet the traveller's eye on every hand. The contrast is most striking and agreeable. In a leading street may be observed an old tottering shanty, with the walls rickety and the wooden roof falling in, the height of the fabric not having been originally—that is when it stood erect—more than that of an ordinary sized man. Alongside of this odious-looking, over-grown sentry-box, rises up a massive structure of elaborately cut stone, haughtily frowning down upon the humble neighbouring



tenement. Commerce is a mighty magician, truly. In an incredibly short time her magic wand makes the solitary places glad, and the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose. Another evolution of her mystic sceptre—more potent than the golden wand of Mercury or the fabled power of Midas—and rude huts are transformed into stately palaces, and Indian canoes converted into mighty ships that sweep the ocean against wind and wave!

Montreal has indisputably made rapid strides during the last dozen years, and is still pushing forward with rapidity and energy. Dilapidated buildings are constantly being razed, and fine massive structures take the place of unsightly ones. Several of the modern edifices are not inferior to the public buildings of Liverpool or Manchester—while a few of them may even vie with those of London.

Although the unfortunate American struggle had materially injured the Canadian trade—as it has similarly affected the commerce of European countries—still the bustle and din of industry were unceasing in the streets of this noble city; nor were the spirit and enterprise of its thriving denizens much damped, or cramped, by the temporary lull under which many branches of commerce laboured. Montreal, being at the head of

the ship navigation, possesses peculiar local advantages for trade and commerce. The railroads and canals, already in successful operation, will, doubtless, in due time, considerably enhance her business facilities and resources. The city corporation consists of twenty-seven members, and the annual revenue from assessed property is considered to reach one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, which sum is freely expended in effecting city improvements.

To speak truly, I was scarcely prepared to find the "island city" so noble, prosperous, and thoroughly British. The tangible evidences of commercial greatness and social advancement were unmistakable. Everywhere my eye alighted upon public buildings, not only substantial, but ornamental and unique. Now, when it is considered that splendid churches, a court-house, banks, a fine market hall, groups of warehouses, stores, and handsome private residences, besides the Victoria Tubular Bridge, have mostly sprung up during the last few years, there can be no hesitation in awarding due merit to the Montrealers, whose social progress has been so unparalleled. It will not be considered an elimination of truth to affirm, that few people on the whole continent of America have manifested so much spirit or enterprise. A number of manufactories

have likewise been established within the past five or six years, worked by water power, while the inventions for the economisation of human labour therein are singularly ingenious. But to these I shall, by and by, more fully refer, as I attach great importance to the manufactories of a country, for they afford a fair criterion by which to form an estimate of a people.

Conspicuous among the public edifices are the English Cathedral and the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame, each unrivaled in its way. The former is a rare specimen of skill and beauty. One drawback is the site, which happens to be low, although the lofty "Mountain" in the back ground enhances its picturesqueness. One Sunday morning I attended the service, and was pleasingly but strongly impressed by the aptitude and attitude of the worshippers. I have not seen, nor would I desire to see, a more respectable, decorous, and even devout congregation. The spacious building was well filled, only a few seats being vacant. I shall never forget the effect produced upon my mind when one of the officiating priests read the following passage of our beautiful Liturgy:—

"O Lord, 'save the Queen:"

Nor the fervour of soul with which the congregation repeated the response:—

“And mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee.”

It was the best refutation of the calumnies so busily bruited about Canadian disloyalty. Dr. Fulford, the metropolitan, is in high repute, and enjoys the reputation of a distinguished scholar. The discourse I heard from him was both eloquent and practical.

Throughout the Province the French element is singularly unprogressive; doubtless, therefore, the old Saxon and Celtic blood has rendered Canada what it is. In perambulating the streets of Montreal, and while observing the fine modern warehouses and stores, built of cut-stone, I was struck by the number of Scotch patronymies, both engraved on brass plates and painted over the doors. In fact, Scotch merchants and manufacturers are amongst the wealthiest and most important men in the country. I was for a time the guest of Mr. Thomas Morland (formerly of Wigtonshire, in Scotland) who, besides being a merchant, is the proprietor of an extensive saw manufactory. This gentleman occupies a very high social position in his adopted city. Although but a young man, he is a justice of the peace, president of ever so many boards, and officially connected with several charitable institutions. I mention these facts to show that

Scotchmen, when they thrive in Canada, do not forget those higher claims and duties that devolve upon members of a social community.

Notwithstanding there is much in Montreal to be admired, there is much also to be condemned. People erect fine houses and imposing public buildings, but seem to ignore those minor improvements which, however apparently trivial, are of great consequence to a flourishing city. The pathways and roads are almost as bad, and in some instances worse, than in Quebec. In the leading streets the pathways are composed of different materials. Here and there was a small patch of flagstone in a most dilapidated condition. A little further on was a brick pavement, not at all unsightly or unpleasant to walk upon, provided the bricks are not broken to pieces, rough or uneven, which was too frequently the case. Adjoining this again was a plankway, with the boards either rotten from age or partially devoured by rats—a species of animal that flourishes wonderfully in a Canadian climate. The roads were equally faulty, and became impassable after much rain. The drainage, too, was very imperfect; and I should not be surprised if much illness was engendered thereby. In the neighbourhood to the rear of St. Lawrence Hall—a palatial hotel, kept by a warm-hearted Irish gentleman,—who

is major of a Militia regiment—property had become so depreciated that land and residences were to be procured comparatively for little or nothing. Still, few purchasers could be obtained, and all owing to defective drainage. One night I visited the Theatre Royal, situated in this locality, but the odour became so offensive that I was compelled to quit the house during the performance of an interesting comedy. With such a rapidly increasing population as Montreal possesses, the municipality should have done something effectual towards obviating so dangerous an evil. The public health is at least as deserving of attention as the “almighty dollar.” It is not when a great plague shall have broken like a storm-cloud over a fated city that remedies are to be applied.

Nelson's Monument in Notre Dame Street forms an important ornament to Montreal. It consists of a handsome Doric column, enriched by mouldings of artificial stone, rising to an altitude of fifty feet. On the summit is a square tablet surmounted by a full-sized statue of England's naval hero, habited in full uniform, and decorated with various insignia. The face of the statue looks towards the west, while the countenance appears as if intently watching the termination of some mighty event. Resting on a square pedestal about eleven feet from the ground, this monument

has a highly imposing effect. The pedestal itself is embellished on all sides with figures emblematical of events in Nelson's life, viz., the battle of the Nile, the interview with the Prince of Denmark after the engagement off Copenhagen, and the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar. One or two of the panels are particularly neat in their design and execution; such, for instance, as the elegant figure of a crocodile in bas-relief emblematical of the battle of the Nile. The plinth of the base is further ornamented with cannon and other appropriate trophies, together with a circular laurel wreath surrounding the annexed inscription:—

In Memory of  
The Right Honourable Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount NELSON,  
Duke of Bronté,  
Who terminated his career of Naval glory in the Memorable  
Battle of Trafalgar,  
On the 21st of October, 1805,  
After inculcating by Signal  
This Sentiment,  
Never to be forgotten by his Country,  
"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY."  
This Monumental Column was erected by the  
Inhabitants of Montreal,  
In the Year 1808.

The statue surmounting the column is formed of artificial stone. It is recorded that when it lay in the manufactory in London, a sailor who had served under Lord Nelson, found his way in, and, struck with the resemblance of the figure to



the original, embraced it enthusiastically, observing :—

“This is a grand figure of the noble admiral. I hope it is made of good stuff, and will be as lasting as the world !”

“I have nothing to fear on that score,” replied the artist, “for his lordship has been in a hot fire for a week without intermission.”

“Ah, master,” rejoined the tar, “I find you know something about the character of the brave admiral; for there never was a British officer that could stand fire better than he !”

It is due to the inhabitants of Montreal to mention that a strong desire was evinced by them to protect the rights and liberties which they enjoy under British rule, should occasion arise for an exhibition either of their patriotism or their resistance. Nor were the French Canadians found wanting in their allegiance. For example, immediately after the “Trent affair,” the Honourable M. Coursol, Judge of the Sessions, proposed to the Government to raise a regiment of French Canadian Volunteers within a month. This proposition was accepted, and within a brief period the services of thirteen companies had been tendered to the authorities. Ten of these companies were formed into a regiment, duly placed under the instruction of compe-



tent drill-sergeants, and continued their exercises throughout the entire winter. Early the following year arms, accoutrements, and overcoats were distributed to them. When officially inspected along with other volunteer troops, they exhibited considerable acquaintance with military duties, and their discipline was excellent. During my stay in Montreal, their summer clothing had arrived from England. This regiment is called the 4th Battalion Volunteer Rifles, or Chasseurs Canadian, and is under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Coursol.

The volunteer movement in the "island city," exhibited unmistakeable signs of energetic life, and was daily growing in effectiveness and importance. To the kindness of Colonel Dyde, the commandant, I am indebted for the following intelligence respecting the condition of that defensive organization in Montreal.

The active force, technically termed "Class A," consists of eleven regiments, embracing

- 2 Troops of Cavalry.
- 1 Field Battery.
- 2 Companies Foot Battery.
- 1 Regiment Foot Artillery.
- 1 Regiment Light Infantry.
- 1 Company of Engineers.
- 1 Regiment (Chasseurs Canadiens) Rifles.
- 1 Regiment (Hochelega) Light Infantry.
- 1 Regiment Royals (5th Infantry).
- 1 Regiment (Victoria) Rifles.
- 1 Regiment (Prince of Wales) Rifles.

These form combinedly a force of three thousand four hundred men, although generally estimated at four thousand five hundred. When the Prince of Wales was in Montreal he reviewed the last-named regiment on Logan's Farm, and was so well pleased with its soldierly bearing that he honoured it by allowing the same to be called after himself. On that occasion it was commanded by Colonel Wily, who has since been superseded by another officer. In addition to the Volunteer Regiments above enumerated, there is also a sedentary force, which, if necessary, could be speedily organised. It amounts to about nine or ten battalions; but it is to be hoped that no occasion will arise for the services of either being brought into requisition. I do not mean to reflect invidiously upon the loyalty of the French Canadians of Quebec, when I state that the same class in Montreal have evinced deeper attachment to British rule.

As nearly as I could learn there were over four thousand British troops located in the city, some in temporary barracks. These may be regarded as the flower of the army, and consisted of the Royal Artillery Corps, four hundred and ninety-three privates and twenty-four officers; the Royal Engineers, one hundred and thirty-one privates and nine officers; the Military Train,

two hundred and twenty-eight privates and eleven officers; the 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards, eight hundred and seventy-five privates and twenty-five officers; the 2nd Battalion Scots Fusilier Guards, eight hundred and sixty-three privates and thirty-six officers; and the 16th and 47th Regiments, consisting respectively of eight hundred and fifty-nine privates, thirty-six officers, and seven hundred and seven privates and thirty-two officers. The appearance of the troops on parade afforded much pleasure to the citizens; and when the military band performed on stated occasions in the Champ de Mars, the public was generally attracted thither. Of course such a large body of troops imparted great animation to the city.

Amongst the few private clubs in Montreal is one called "The Prince of Wales' Fishing Club." It has been established for some years, and is so extremely exclusive as to be limited to eight members. One day I was invited by the president to join himself and a few friends in a fishing excursion. Although no ardent disciple of Izaak Walton, I readily consented, for there is a charm even in novelty not to be despised. Early in the morning of the day appointed, I started from my hotel with one of the members, and proceeded to the president's residence, where, besides having

a substantial breakfast, we fortified ourselves internally with a spirituous concoction known in Scotland as Athol-brose—the most insidious and yet delicious compound I have ever tasted before or since. After breakfast we proceeded in a carriage to the wharf, taking with us a ponderous hamper well stocked with viands of various descriptions, and sundry bottles of wine and brandy. Having got on board the “*Jessy*”—I believe that was the name of the boat—we were kindly received by the commodore, Dr. Norton, and others. In a short time we pulled off from the shore and were moving up the St. Lawrence at a brisk rate, the boat’s flag, ornamented with the Prince of Wales’ plume, gaily streaming in the wind. Upon arriving as far as St. Nicholas Island, at the mouth of the Chateauguai River, fifteen miles from Montreal—near to the Falls of St. Anne, where Moore located the scene of his admirable ‘Canadian Boat Song’—we disembarked. Over a square piece of rock, a snow white cloth was laid, upon which was spread a repast that would have stimulated the stomach of the most dyspeptic. As boating on a river—and especially such a river as the St. Lawrence—is a great provocative to appetite, we all sat down with hearty gusto and partook of our president’s hospitality,

which was more than every desert island could afford.

While upon the island the members of the Prince of Wales' Fishing Club privileged me by enrolling my name as an honorary member—the first elected. In attestation of the act I received from the president a document, of which the following is a copy :—

THE PRINCE OF WALES' FISHING CLUB.

WALTER MACFARLAN, Esq., President.

The Hon. T. D'ARCY M'GEE, M.P.P., Vice-President.

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S. PHILLIPS DAY, Esq., has been elected Honorary Member.

WALTER MACFARLAN.

DONALD MACFARLAN.

JOHN THOMPSON.

JOHN NORTON.

St. Nicholas Island,  
19th July, 1862.

Having returned to the "*Jessy*," rods and tackling were prepared, and we all entered *con amore* upon an agreeable day's sport. The junior were first pitted against the senior members, and a spirited but well-tempered rivalry was sustained for several hours, as to which party should make the larger "catch." I was naturally pleased that the "juniors" gained the victory over their superiors in age and angling experience. After a very delightful excursion we arrived towards dusk

at Montreal, jaded and sun burnt, with the trophies of our day's toil.

There are four newspapers in Montreal, which, considering how public journals are managed in Canada, seem fairly conducted. Most of the space is devoted to advertisements, and these are frequently printed in such prominent type as to give the journals a very unsightly appearance. An editor's post I consider rather a sinecure in English America. Editors write little—perhaps have little to write about; at all events, the two or three columns of each journal devoted to news are generally made up of short paragraphs. Sometimes these savour of personal pique, after the manner, as painters say, of the Yankee prints. One day the scribe of a certain paper informed the scribe of another that he was “training for the gallows” the boys who sold his journal in the streets. The organ editorially referred to was an evening print, entitled the *Witness*; which certainly, to do it justice, did not lay claim to great pretensions. Its editor was “a northern man,” from New Orleans, from which city he had to retire upon offending the secessionists, who, I was informed, threw his type into the street and broke up his press. I was amused one very wet evening by a little ragged urchin entering the vestibule of the St. Lawrence Hall, having

a bundle of the *Witness* under his arm. Both the papers and the vendor were equally saturated with the rain. At first the papers were offered for a "copper" each (one half-penny), the legitimate price. After a while they became depreciated in value, and were to be had "two for a copper." Finally, as there was but slight prospect of selling one, the poor shivering urchin roared out, "The *Witness*, the *Witness*; three for a copper!" but no one seemed to think them of value even at such a reduction. Upon ascertaining that the lad, who certainly was most persevering, had lost sixpence by his purchase, I handed him this small amount, partially to get rid of his presence and importunities.

Some of the graver evils attendant upon garri-son life were, unfortunately, but too apparent during my stay in Montreal. Two military murders had taken place, while cases of insubordination and mutinous conduct on the part of soldiers, were of frequent occurrence. Scarcely a week passed without a court-martial having been held upon some delinquent. Threats, especially, seemed to have been freely indulged in; while in more than one case premeditated assassination had been arrested in an incipient stage of perpetration. One night a gunner of the 10th brigade of Foot Artillery, named Farrel, was discovered in bed with his



carbine and ammunition concealed beside him. This man was accused of having uttered threats against the life of a corporal connected with his brigade. Shortly before Private Morrissey, of the 16th Regiment, No. 4 Company, while engaged at rifle practice at Chambly, made similar menaces to Colour-Sergeant Ramsden. When arrested a bayonet was discovered concealed beneath his clothes. Again, two privates of the 47th Regiment deserted from St. Helen's Island, near Montreal, taking with them their clothing, accoutrements, and other articles. One of the deserters was the soldier on duty as sentry, who actually fired at the party in pursuit, wounding one man in the shoulder. Their arrest, however, was effected a few miles from the city, while the fugitives were *en route* for the Western States. On these men courts-martial were held in due course; the reading of which was attended by public ceremonies, one of which I witnessed.

One Monday afternoon all the troops in garrison were ordered out for parade on the Champ de Mars, an enclosed piece of ground east of the town. Although no public notification had been made of the occurrence, an immense concourse of people assembled to witness the ceremony of sentences of courts-martial being read against two military delinquents. Tho



crowd was so dense that but for the kindness of my friend Judge Coursol, who admitted me to the window of his private room in the Court House, I should have been unable to witness the proceedings. Battalions were formed into columns on three sides of a hollow square, the Royal Engineers and the Military Train occupying the vacant side. The space in the centre was appropriated by Major-General Lord Frederick Paulet and his staff. After the preliminaries had been arranged the prisoners were conducted handcuffed to the centre, guarded by a corporal and four men with fixed bayonets. The Adjutant then read in a firm, audible voice the detailed charges against each prisoner respectively, and the sentences of the courts-martial, namely, "that Privates McKay and Bryan, having been found guilty of desertion and mutinous conduct, should be branded with the letter 'D,' according to the articles of war, and that the remainder of their natural lives be passed in penal servitude." The prisoners, who were young men, stood uncovered during the reading of their sentences, and seemed to feel acutely the humiliating position to which their bad conduct had reduced them. They were then removed from the grounds under a strong escort, and conveyed on board the Quebec steam-boat. Subsequently the troops were put through a variety

of evolutions. Having "marched past" in double file, each commandant saluting Lord Paulet and his staff, they were re-formed into square and then into marching order, and left the field, the bands of the several regiments playing gaily meanwhile. The spectacle was both a sad and an imposing one, and not devoid of a moral lesson. A similar spectacle had occurred on the preceding Monday, when Privates Morrissey and Farrel were condemned to penal servitude for life and ten years respectively.

I find that the subject of military insubordination has been attracting public attention in this country, where similar offences have also been frequent, and where a strong demand has been made that some effectual check should be adopted to prevent their recurrence. The same reason that operated some years since in inducing the authorities to prohibit soldiers from carrying fire-arms when off duty, might be applied to the removal of their ammunition from barrack dormitories. What necessity can there be for rounds of cartridge being hung at the head of a soldier's bed?

## CHAPTER X.

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES AND SOCIAL CONDITION  
OF THE "ISLAND CITY."

Mr. Anthony Trollope's Strictures—The Victoria Iron Works—Nails and Nailers—Rolling Mills—Scientific Process of Puddling—The Royal City, and Canal Flour Mills—Economization of Labour—The Canada Marine Works—Vicissitudes of the Confederate Privateer, *Sumpter*—The Sugar Refinery—Advantages of the Lachine Canal—The Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company—The Geological Museum—Educational Institutes—Condition of Criminality.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Anthony Trollope should have dismissed Montreal in so off-hand and cavalier a manner when treating of that city in a recent publication. Had the respected author of "North America" but have taken a little more pains, he would, assuredly, have discovered that there were many persons and things in the thriving city of Montreal worth knowing and seeing beside Sir William Logan and the Geological Museum. For miles along the banks of the Canal he might have observed factories clustered together, from which the hum of industry constantly went forth, passing over

altogether the busy marts and temples of commerce within the city itself. To some of these factories I performed a daily pilgrimage; and I must confess that I was pleasingly astonished at the resources of the country and the enterprise of its people.

The manufactures of a city or country, no less than their ordinary commerce, must be viewed as so many elements of prosperity and material wealth. I reiterate that those of Montreal surprised me much. I was not prepared for the discovery I had made. Within the past five or six years, or even a briefer period, a variety of manufacturing resources have been developed. Along the banks of the Lachine Canal—the basin of which is two hundred and fifty feet wide—factories and mills are closely congregated; the machinery of each being altogether worked by means of water-power. One leading feature of these establishments is, that machinery is made to do what in the old country is accomplished by human hand. In Canada labour of this description is scarce; and hence, ingenuity or necessity, which we are told is the “mother of invention,” has been exercised to beneficial purpose.

Having been supplied with letters of introduction to the principal manufacturers and mill proprietors, I eagerly set about visiting the

prominent objects of interest. The first manufactory to which I wended my way was the Victoria Iron Works (the reader will observe how loyal the people are), where I noticed a rolling-mill for nail plates in operation, specimens of which article had been sent to the late International Exhibition. This mill turns out twelve tons per day, chiefly from Scotch pig iron, puddled at the works. One hundred and twenty hands are employed, and two thousand tons of plates were produced during the working months of 1862. The works were commenced as recently as 1859, and, I believe, were the first of the kind started in the Province. There is another rolling-mill in the suburbs of the city, and two nail and spike factories, in one of which I lost my hearing for some minutes, owing to the deafening clamour of the heavy cutting machines—fully a dozen of them being simultaneously in operation.

And here let me crave the reader's indulgence while I say a few words respecting nails and nailers; two very necessary aids to civilization. English wrought nails were exclusively employed in Canada before the year 1851. Shortly afterwards the manufacture of cut shingle nails was established at Montreal; but although larger cut nails were imported into the Upper Province from the United States, those manufactured in Eng-

land continued to be used in Lower Canada, board and larger cut nails growing gradually into use. For a number of years these descriptions of nails were manufactured at Sault au Recollet and Lower Lachine by means of water-power, and by steam-power in the city. At present all nails are produced by water-power, supplied from the Canal.

Until the establishment of rolling-mills, in 1857, nails were cut from imported sheets and hoops (shingle nails are still cut from such); but since these mills have been erected a diminished quantity of sheets are imported, and the mills turn out the remainder. The two puddling and rolling-mills of Montreal are capable of supplying nails in sufficient number to meet the requirements of the entire Province. During the six months ending November, 1861, the establishments of Messrs. Peek and Snell, proprietors of the Victoria Works, have manufactured about three thousand tons of nail plate. The quantity of this material imported for the five years ending 1859, averaged four thousand tons per annum. In 1860, about two thousand tons of nail plate were produced from "serap" iron, but since then it became apparent that the available quantity of that material was entirely inadequate to supply the mills. This circumstance has led

to the erection of puddling furnaces at both mills, and, necessarily, to the importation of several thousand tons of "pig" metal, chiefly of Glengarnock, Collness, and Blair Brand, which is technically called "No. 4 iron," a close-grained metal known better in England as "forge pig," and adapted for the manufacture of malleable iron. Several hundred tons of ore have likewise to be periodically imported, most of which comes from the mines at Port Henry and Lake Champlain. The furnaces are constructed of fire-bricks, brought from Jersey City and Troy, about one hundred thousand of which had been used during the year. The fire-brick and fire-clay, at present imported from Great Britain, although admirably adapted for foundry purposes, are of no use whatever for "puddling," or heating furnaces. *Apropos* of heat, let but the reader fancy the author wending his wary way through those immense factories—furnaces to the right of him, furnaces to the left of him, seething and flaming—and on one of the hottest days of a Canadian July!

Perhaps a brief description of the process of "puddling" may be alike interesting to the scientific and non-scientific reader. Nearly all metals are capable of being broken to atoms just at the instant they become fused, heat having



destroyed the cohesive affinity of their particles. This is precisely the case with pig iron in the puddling furnace. Having first been brought to the required temperature, the broken metal is charged into it when the flame is fully turned on. And here it becomes necessary to observe that a puddling furnace is composed of chambers that receive the metal over which the flame from the grate passes, and the heat of which is intensified by the refraction from the low roof. As soon as the metal is about to become fused, the fire is slackened by means of a damper on the chimney top; and the charge, having acquired a kind of semi-fluidity, is easily broken into minute pieces and scattered over the furnace. At the same moment the temperature decreases the entire mass thickens, and the cohesion of the atoms is destroyed, when the iron breaks down into the consistency of cream. Cinders and other refuse are next thrown on. The damper is then lifted and the flame turned on, so that the molten mass under operation in a few seconds begins to heave, swell, and emit jets of deep blue flame, which is termed "fermentation." This dark blue flame is a highly important feature in the process, and is occasioned by the escape of bicarburet of



sulphur, a most injurious compound if suffered to remain in malleable iron. The stirring or "puddling" is now vigorously continued, when the iron begins to drop, or "dry," as it is termed; the fermentation ceases from the exhaustion of carbon; and the metal appears to clot or become tenacious—a process technically known as "coming to nature." Next, it is gathered into balls; when, having been exposed to a strong welding heat for a few minutes, these balls are removed to the "squeezers" for the purpose of imparting consistency to the iron, as well as giving to it the necessary shape. Finally, it passes through the "rolls," when it comes out a long puddled bar of rough malleable metal. The fibre—upon which the strength of all malleable iron depends—is occasioned by this compression. The entire operation does not occupy more than two hours. The bars are then allowed to cool, when they are removed to a powerful shears, cut up into the required lengths, piled, heated in a furnace, and finally rolled out into the sheet iron of commerce. This "puddling" process is, perhaps, more deserving of the appellation of scientific, than any other branch of iron manufacture. At all events, it is very instructive and interesting. I candidly avow, however, that I

should not like to again bear the intense heat to which I was subjected for the purpose of witnessing the same process a second time.

The quantity of coals consumed by the two manufactories to which I have alluded, amounted in 1861 to six thousand tons, a large portion of which was brought from the Albion mines of New York. In the works of Mr. Snell, only Picton coals are used, as the furnaces for both puddling and heating are supplied with blast, to which a strong coal, like that of Picton, and being free from sulphur, is especially adapted.

There are three immense flour mills at Montreal, called the Royal, the City, and the Canal Mills, through the first of which I was politely conducted by one of the proprietors. These structures are not so extensive as the great flour mills of Richmond, Virginia, which I had seen the year before; nevertheless they are very capacious, and possess peculiar features of novelty. The warehouse portion of the Royal Mills is one hundred feet in height by seventy-five feet wide. It has a frontage of one hundred and sixty feet, while the milling department is sixty-five feet square and seventy feet in elevation. The building has eight stories, and from the gravelled flat roof a fine view is had of the busy city and the St. Lawrence. These mills contain forty-four grain bins, having a

depth of from twenty-four to thirty-six feet, while the capacity of the warehouse exceeds two hundred thousand bushels. The grinding capacity of the mills is reckoned at eight runs a stone; there are four millstones, and every two make what is called "a run." Five hundred barrels of wheat can be ground daily with ease. The most remarkable feature about these mills is the introduction of "elevators," by means of which a wonderful economy of human labour is realised. The elevators are worked by water-power and remove grain from vessels to the bins. One was in operation during my visit, and I was surprised to find that, while grain was being taken from a barge in the Canal up into the warehouse and weighed, it was transhipped into another vessel lying alongside. By means of elevators a barge could be loaded or unloaded in an hour; a process that would otherwise occupy an entire day, even with the assistance of a large number of hands. There is a "barrel elevator" in the mills for the purpose of raising barrels from one story to another. Even the very barrels are filled and weighed by means of machinery. The complicated and varied work of the Royal Mills is accomplished by the aid of twenty men and boys—an economisation of labour truly wonderful. The proprietors are Englishmen. The grandfather of

one served in the British army, and he himself fought in the Rebellion—a true Loyalist I will be bound.

Among the objects of interest are the Canada Marine Works, covering fifteen acres of ground, upon which are erected a foundry, boiler, and finishing shop supplied with all kinds of modern tools. The machinery is driven by a condensing steam engine, besides a large sawing and planing mill worked by steam-power. A considerable portion of the ground is employed as a shipyard, containing two basins, each five hundred feet by one hundred feet in extent. This property was purchased by the present proprietor about seventeen years ago. From 1845 to the autumn of 1862 inclusive, ninety-four vessels were built and launched from this yard. These were principally constructed for the lake and river navigation; the models combining the highest speed with the greatest carrying capacity on a light draught of water.

Among these vessels may be mentioned those excellent steamers plying between Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton, that connect the Lake Erie steamers and all the Great Western travel to Chicago, with those on the Ottawa route; as well as the numerous vessels that are engaged in the intermediate traffic of all the small towns and villages on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries.

At the Marine Works were also built the steamers *Beaver* and *Muskrat*, for Messrs. Jackson, Peto, and Co., the Grand Trunk Railway contractors. The last mentioned vessels were employed exclusively to assist in the construction of the Victoria Bridge. After a while the railway company had so much interfered with the carrying trade that ship building was almost brought to a stand still, —the engineering department entirely so. In consequence of this depression the proprietor was compelled to look abroad for orders that could not be procured at home.

For this purpose he journeyed to Cuba, where he fell in with a merchant named Don Pedro Lacoste, with whom he entered into a contract (in the spring of 1858) to build a steamer on the screw-propelling principle. The vessel was accordingly completed, named the *Colon*, and dispatched for Cuba in the month of November following. Subsequently she was sold to run between Havana and Vera Cruz, when her name was altered to that of the *Marquis de Habana*. During the civil war in Mexico she was purchased by General Merriman, in order to be employed as an armed steamer, and was one of the two vessels captured at Vera Cruz by an American frigate, and taken to New Orleans, where she lay till the winter of 1860-61. She was finally disposed of

as a prize ship, and received the appellation of the *Sumpter*. This vessel is no other than the celebrated Confederate privateer, the daring exploits of which during the American troubles have become so notorious. So much for the vicissitudes of a ship !

During the year 1861 the carrying trade had increased to such an extent as to supersede in a great measure the monopoly so long enjoyed by the Grand Trunk Railway. The consequence was that an impetus had been given to ship-building, so as to revive this branch of industry, and afford pleasing indications of a rapid increase. The workshops at the time of my visit were again open, having been leased to a person who carried on the engineering department therein, which business had likewise partaken of the general improvement. The proprietor of the works was then completing the construction of a dry dock, formed out of one of the basins. This dock is sufficiently capacious to accommodate four of the largest steamers that navigate the river and the upper lakes. From its commanding position, being far above the highest flood that can affect the St. Lawrence, it is admirably suited for general purposes and for winter quarters. In going over the yard I noticed a steam-bent on the stocks, which, I was informed, made the number

of vessels constructed here exactly one hundred and eleven.

The Sugar Refinery is likewise an object of interest. It commenced work in January, 1855, and had, accordingly, been in operation seven years. About seven-eighths of the white sugar consumed in the Province are produced here; the remainder being imported from various countries when the price happens to fall a little lower than the current value of that article in Montreal. The capacity of the works is equal to the requirements of Upper and Lower Canada for several years to come; that is if immigration does not set in very rapidly. The great difficulty experienced consists in the extremely limited market that the country affords for refined sugar. For this reason the manufacture of the commodity is discontinued during two or three months every year. The quantity of raw sugar consumed in Canada is estimated at about seven thousand tons annually; the product being white and yellow sugar, and a moderate quantity of syrup. The refinery establishment of Messrs. Redpath and Co. is very complete, being replete with every modern improvement. The building—which is extensive—machinery, etc., cost fifty thousand pounds, while an equal amount of capital is employed in carrying on the business. The animal charcoal re-



quired in the manufacture is made on the premises, the gas from the bones being used to light the same. But I must say no more on this head, lest perchance I should be the innocent means of creating in the reader a disgust for refined sugar.

In addition to the factories enumerated there are several others that I had not leisure to inspect, such as the Steam Saw Mills, the Oil and Colour Works, the Candle Works, the Chemical and India Rubber Works, and an immense establishment for the manufacture of doors, window-frames, etc., by means of water-power. The existence of such places is indicative of the energetic character of the people and of the growth and wealth of the city.

To the facilities afforded by the construction of the Lachine Canal, all those results I have been describing must, of course, be attributed. This Canal was executed by the Provincial Government at a cost of two millions of dollars; but the pecuniary benefits that have, and will arise from this outlay, are beyond computation. Not only has it enabled vessels to pass the Lachine rapids, but it has afforded manufacturing facilities equivalent to at least four million horse-power. It has, in fact, revolutionised primitive ideas, so that where the tottering wind-mill once stood is



now erected imposing water-works, built strongly enough to last for ages. To the same cause may likewise be traced the material and commercial prosperity of Montreal itself, which this Canal and the works upon its banks have converted into the grand trading and manufacturing centre of the Province.

Incalculable advantages have accrued not only to Montreal, but to the whole Province, by the establishment of steam communication between Canada and Great Britain. In these benefits this country largely participates. But a few years ago and the voyage from Quebec or Montreal to Europe would occupy six or seven weeks, and in case of adverse winds, considerably longer. During this time the Provincial Government had been directing its energies and resources to the development of the Canadian trade; a considerable portion of which has been diverted into American channels. As the large subsidies granted by the British and United States Governments to their respective lines of steam-vessels, operated injuriously upon the colonial commerce, it became absolutely necessary that a direct mail service between Canada and Liverpool should be founded. Accordingly, a postal contract was entered into between the Canadian Government and Mr. Hugh Allen, of Montreal,

for the conveyance of mails fortnightly to and from Quebec in summer, and Portland, Maine—the eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway—in winter. At length a weekly service was established, the Colonial Government granting a subsidy of eighty-four thousand pounds annually for this purpose.

The “Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company” has proved a *desideratum* of no ordinary importance. It possesses a fleet of seven vessels, ranging from one thousand seven hundred to two thousand five hundred tons burden. All these are first-class ships, specially built for the Canadian trade, at a cost of over half a million sterling. The service, notwithstanding its well-known dangers, has been maintained with singular regularity. For example, the average passage during the year 1861 was thirteen days to westward and twelve days to eastward—a result which compares favourably with that of any other line crossing the Atlantic. The number of passengers carried in 1861 was twelve thousand two hundred and seventy-nine; or about three thousand eight hundred and seventy-five eastward, and eight thousand four hundred and four westward; while in 1862, the number conveyed was expected to exceed that of any previous period. This line of transit has decidedly one advantage, namely, that

the distance from Liverpool, *viâ* Derry and Cape Race, is two hundred and fifty miles shorter than that of New York. During the summer of 1856, this line was partially opened, but the weekly voyages were not regularly instituted before the spring of 1859. The "Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company's" fine fleet of vessels are run at an annual outlay of three hundred thousand pounds, which immense sum has to be provided from the passage monies, freights, and the subsidy paid by the Canadian Government.

It is rather a singular anomaly that while Great Britain contributes largely to postal communication with almost all her other colonies and dependencies, as well as with foreign countries, from Canada alone does she receive a contribution to her postal revenue, without bestowing any recompense. In 1857 the Post Office revenue of Great Britain received from Canada, through her mail service, five thousand six hundred and seventy two pounds, and in 1860 over eleven thousand pounds; an amount likely to be augmented year by year.

The "Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company" also possess a line of steam vessels which ply every three weeks from Montreal to Glasgow, and *vice versa*.

Upon visiting the Geological Museum I was

greatly edified, if not instructed. Mr. Anthony Trollope says that he "could have listened to Sir William Logan for the whole day" discoursing on geology, although he understood nothing of that science. At the time of my visit Sir William happened to be in England at the International Exhibition (where, by the way, there were some choice specimens of Canadian ores and marbles), so I was politely conducted over the Museum by my friend Mr. Sterry Hunt, F.R.S., who spoke eloquently and unctiously upon such hard and dry subjects as stones, fossils, and flints. An elaborate discourse of an hour's duration upon geology and mineralogy, although entertaining, did not leave me much wiser than before. I had an opportunity, however, of further admiring the pure, unflagging devotion with which scientific men devote themselves to their profession. Sir William Logan's acquaintance I was fortunate enough to make on a subsequent occasion; and I was really charmed with the character and manners of that distinguished scientific veteran. And here it will not be irrelevant to mention some particulars respecting the Geological Survey of Canada.

This Survey, which is entrusted to a Commission under the direction of Sir William Logan, was commenced twenty years ago. It began on a

comparatively small scale, but has grown in extent and importance as its results have become more known and appreciated by the Canadian people. Sir William Logan is aided in his arduous labours by an assistant geologist, Mr. Alexander Murray; by a mineralogist and chemist, Mr. Sterry Hunt; and by a palæontologist, Mr. Billings—each of whom has acquired an European reputation owing to his scientific researches. In addition to these gentlemen there is a staff of field explorers, artists, and draughtsmen. The task of the officers connected with the Geological Survey in such a country as Canada, is an exceedingly varied and onerous one. In the first place, they must fulfil the duties of land surveyors and topographical engineers; for in many parts of the Province to which their researches carry them, they find themselves necessitated to survey rivers, triangulate, and, in short, to make a geographical map of the country in which they may subsequently lay down their geological observations. The labour of such investigations is difficult enough in a country like England, where accurate maps and good roads are to be found. But in Canada the geological surveyor has frequently to draw his map as he travels along, or to find his way on foot, or in canoes (with Indian guides), through almost

interminable miles of wilderness, where the foot of civilized man has never trod.

The longitude of the principal points in Canada have been determined by the new method, which employs the electric telegraph in transmitting observations from station to station. By this means, together with the excellent Admiralty charts of Admiral Bayfield, the Geological Survey had just completed a large map of British North America, the topographical details alone having occupied several years in their execution. I was shown the proof-sheets of this wonderful specimen of skill and industry, upon which the draughtsman was inserting the names of places. So excellent was the penmanship that the lettering could scarcely be distinguished from the fine copper-plate engraving. The department in which this map was being prepared, contained an innumerable variety of maps of all sizes, all of which had been consulted in its construction. The engraving was executed in Paris, and certainly reflects great credit upon those to whom the work had been entrusted.

The careful study and elucidation of the organic remains observable in Canadian rocks devolves upon Mr. Billings. This gentleman has already "figured" and described several hundred new fossils from Canada, and thus contributed, in no

slight degree, to the advancement of North American geological science. I was intensely interested by hearing explained how the study of a minute fossil shell has furthered the identification of a metal-bearing formation, and thereby proved of high economic importance. It would thus appear as if fossils had become the Alpha Beta of geologists. The study of the minerals, ores, and mineral waters, in their chemical and economical relations, is the "speciality" of Professor Sterry Hunt, whose investigations, in what is termed the "chemistry of geology," have rendered his reputation extensive in Europe no less than in America.

That gentleman very patiently explained to me the geology and chemistry of the famous western Petroleum oil-wells, which he seems to have made a particular study. A large octavo volume treating of the geology of Canada, wherein are summed up the observations scattered throughout the geological reports of many years, was in the press. It is illustrated with several maps, which, together with the typography, so far as I could judge from the proof-sheets, was executed in a manner highly creditable to the Province. The Museum itself is arranged upon the plan of that in Jermyn Street, and includes specimens of all the ores, marbles, building stones, and other



economic materials of the country. I was attracted by the large masses of rich iron ores, similar to those of Sweden; by the fine marbles, of which Canada possesses a vast variety; by the roofing-slates and soap-stone; and by the lithographic stones and granites. The best specimens, I was informed, had been removed to the London Exhibition, the entire mineral collection from the Province having been specially prepared under Sir William Logan's direction. One of the chief attractions of the Museum consists in the collection of fossils. It includes many thousand specimens, carefully moulded, attached to which are brief printed descriptions. This institution, so useful, instructive, and abounding with such numerous geological specimens, is supported by a parliamentary grant of about four thousand pounds a year. I trust the reader will discover that I have not paid quite an idle visit to the Museum of Geology, and though finding much that had been told to me hard to digest mentally, or associate in my mind with any definite idea, nevertheless that I gathered some entertaining, if not exactly instructive, information.

The educational institutions of Montreal are numerous, and, judging from the various official reports I have glanced at, are sufficient for the



requirements of the population. The most prominent of these is the McGill College—an elegant and imposing structure, salubriously and prominently situated in the west end of the city. The Hon. James McGill, a prosperous merchant, by his last will, bequeathed the estate of Burnside—on which the college stands—containing forty-seven acres of land, with the manor house and buildings thereon erected, in addition to ten thousand pounds, unto the “Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning,” as established by Act of Parliament in the reign of George III. The only condition was that one of the colleges to be comprised in the said university should be named and perpetually distinguished by the appellation of “McGill College.” At the date of the bequest the value of the property was estimated at thirty thousand pounds.

In 1856 a public meeting of influential citizens was convened, to take into consideration the financial position of the college, when the sum of fifteen hundred pounds was raised. The revenue derived from these sources has, however, proved inadequate to meet the growing claims of the institution; while the legislative aids, upon which the governors greatly depended, have been materially diminished by the introduction of the

system whereby the distribution of public monies is made through the Superintendent of Education. And here I may observe that only 19,092*l.*, out of the annual appropriation of 68,000*l.*, for the maintenance of superior education, are distributed to the universities of Lower Canada, and to the colleges and high schools that are nurseries to the same. The principal portion of the grant, owing, it is said, to the erroneous construction placed upon the Act of 1856, is afforded to schools simply of an elementary character, and scarcely equal to those maintained out of the Common School Fund.

Notwithstanding the partial assistance received, and the exercise of rigid economy, the income of the college still falls short by six hundred pounds of the amount necessary to defray its current expenditure, besides being burdened with a debt of six thousand pounds. Professors, teachers, and students are thereby alike impeded in their work by the want of books, apparatus, and other appliances, which deficiency the professors are often necessitated to supply out of their own pockets. The absence of suitable accommodation is likewise severely felt. The Faculty of Arts, for example, has outgrown its apartments. The rooms of the Faculty of Medicine are at least

inconvenient; while the Faculty of Law possesses no class rooms for its special use. So great at one time had been the pecuniary pressure, that the governors were compelled to incur a personal liability of eight hundred pounds to meet existing deficiencies and to carry on effectively the educational departments of the institution.

The embarrassment under which the McGill College unfortunately labours is ascribed to an unexpected degree of success. It may especially be attributed to the rapid increase of a demand for that higher education which it is the province of the college to supply, and which the Board of Governors manifestly regard as their duty to provide, even at the risk of overtasking the resources of the foundation. Its rapid growth under such pressure has been so far beyond what might reasonably be expected, that it has become difficult to make its income keep pace with its extending usefulness. Unless sufficient means be obtained from private or public resources it cannot possibly be carried on with the same degree of efficiency.

Mr. McGill's endowment was long anterior to the establishment of any Protestant college in Canada. Since then hundreds of thousands of pounds have been bestowed, by annual appropriations, upon Roman Catholic schools in Lower

Canada; while in the upper portion of the Province several colleges have been established, all of which participate more or less in the grants of public monies. The University of Toronto, for instance, enjoys an endowment of 226,000 acres of land, conferred by Royal grant in 1858, from which a sum exceeding 294,000*l.* has been already derived; and yet in addition it receives a bounty of over 1,100*l.* annually. Upper Canada College—an institution founded in 1832—was endowed by various grants between that period and 1845, with 63,000 acres of land, which has yielded 55,434*l.*, nevertheless it receives a periodical gift of 1000*l.* sterling. It becomes the more surprising, therefore, that no permanent provision has been made for McGill College, although the gross emoluments received by that institution from public sources, since 1854, do not altogether amount to one quarter of the annual revenues of the Toronto University, or to one tenth the value of Mr. McGill's bequest. Not only was the late founder warranted in believing that his exertions to establish a university would be supported by a grant from the Crown lands, but the members of the Royal Institution were subsequently led to expect that they would have been spared the heavy outlay of erecting college buildings, and that the

endowment would have been rendered available for the future maintenance of the institution.

During 1819, Lord Bathurst, then Colonial Secretary, instructed the Governor-General (the Duke of Richmond) to adopt, with as little delay as possible, the necessary measures for erecting upon Mr. McGill's property a suitable building for the instruction of youth. His Grace was authorised to defray the expense of the same from the funds in the hands of the Receiver of the Jesuits' estates. For reasons, however, unknown to the governors, these liberal intentions were never carried into effect.

The McGill College is the only educational establishment in Canada of an unsectarian character. As such, it possesses the confidence of the Protestant community of every religious denomination. The university affiliated therewith is more than a mere private institution. It partakes of a public, and even provincial character. Not only does it confer degrees upon the students of its own colleges, but, under certain regulations, of those scattered throughout the Province—a boon fraught with the highest advantages. The governing body is appointed by the Crown, and is removable at pleasure. Lord Monck, the Governor-General, is its visitor. Six-

teen scholarships in the Faculty of Arts are at the disposal of his Excellency. He possesses besides the presentation to the same number of scholarships in the High School department, a building erected a considerable distance from the college estate. These scholarships exempt the students from the payment of tuition fees. There are thirty-five professorships in the University, of which Dr. John W. Dawson, F.G.S., is the Principal. The increasing desire on the part of students to take advantage of such educational facilities, is evinced by the number that have matriculated from the years 1854 to 1860 inclusive, namely, 97, 110, 154, 167, 174, and 205; thereby exhibiting a progressive annual increase. In addition to these must be included the teachers in training and normal schools, as well as the pupils in high and model schools; making an excess for 1861 of 528, or a total number of students in connection with McGill College of 833.

There are a variety of other educational institutions in Montreal, the good effects of which will, in after years, be perceptible among the community. The Jesuits, monks, and nuns, have the education of the Roman Catholic youth, much, if not altogether, in their own hands. Annexed is an accurate statement of the number

of scholars, male and female, in the Roman Catholic schools at the time of my visit:—

DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL.	SCHOLARS.
Minor Seminary, conducted by the Priests of St. Sulpice	198
Students in Theology (same school)	50
St. Mary's College (Jesuit Fathers)	266
Schools of the Friars of the Christian Doctrine	3968
Schools of the Sisters of Notre Dame	3144
Schools for Male and Female Orphans	300
Schools of the Sisters of Providence	419
Schools of La Maîtrise	80
Schools of Salle d'Asile	476
Irish Independent Schools	489
Other Schools and Academies	674
Jacques Cartier Normal School	53
Model School attached to same	121
Total number of Scholars	10,238

The Protestant youth of Montreal have likewise adequate provision made for their instruction. The total number of Protestant children attending superior schools and academies amounted in 1860 to 3,946, making an excess upon the year 1859 of 263. For the above particulars I am indebted to M. Chauveau, Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada.

In the different school municipalities of Canada East, the amounts levied during 1860 for primary education were as follows:—Assessment, or voluntary contribution to equal amount of grant, 114,424 dollars; a sum less by 1,368 dollars than in the previous year. The amount of assessment levied over and above that required to equal



the grant, and of special assessment for the liquidation of debt, was 123,939 dollars, being an increase of nearly 15,000 dollars compared with the receipts of 1859, which exceeded by 20,779 dollars those of the previous year. It thus appears that the sum levied by annual assessment exceeds more than two-fold that afforded by Government for educational purposes; the latter being 116,000, and the former 238,364 dollars. This result appears the more remarkable from the fact that when first it was suggested to give the municipalities power to double the assessment for educational purposes, people raised their voices against the proposal, affirming that no compulsion could be adopted, and that they would not voluntarily consent to such a tax.

The returns for 1862 likewise exhibit highly favourable results. Schools had increased by one hundred and fifty-six during the year; while the number of pupils had been augmented by nearly eight thousand, making the aggregate total 188,635. The contributions show an excess of 16,509 dols., having already increased 22,360 dollars in 1861. Local contributions in support of education amounted to 542,728 dollars, viz:—

CONTRIBUTIONS.		DOLS.
Rates to equal the provincial grant	.	110,966
Rates over that amount	.	134,033
Monthly fees	.	281,930
Rates for building school houses	.	15,799



When the Government grant of 110,966 dollars be added to the above sums, it will give 653,694 dollars as the total expenditure for educational purposes in Lower Canada in 1862. Over one-sixth of the population attended school, while the average contribution reached close upon sixty cents. per head of the population, or about three dollars and fifty cents. for each pupil. The three Normal Schools had two hundred pupils in attendance during the season of 1861-62—90 male and 110 female. Of the male pupils 41 were at the Jacques Cartier, 10 at M'Gill, and 39 at Laval; of the females, 58 were at M'Gill, and 52 at Laval. The three schools have accorded the following diplomas since their foundation:—Teachers of academies, 16; model schools, 219; of common schools, 274—total, 509. But as diplomas for two or three grades have been successively granted, the schools have really only educated 406 teachers. Of these M'Gill has educated 167; Laval, 160; and Jacques Cartier, 72. Three hundred and seven diplomas have been granted to schoolmistresses, and two hundred and two to schoolmasters, most of whom are employed in teaching.

And now I shall give the reader a glance at the dark side of the picture, namely, the criminal aspects of Montreal. From the statistics

furnished to me, I find that, in proportion to the population, the number of delinquents is exceedingly high. This circumstance is the more surprising, as the active causes mainly inductive to crime are not in operation to such an extent in Canada as in the old country.

From the 1st of January, to the 31st of December, 1861, the total number of apprehensions were 7,802; 5,681 males and 2,121 females—a large proportion out of a population of 96,000. Of these apprehensions, however, 2,208 were simply to afford protection to destitute persons, so that but 5,594 strictly constitute criminal offenders. But even these form a large array of offenders for a single colonial city, where labour is scarce and work well remunerated. I fear, nay, I am convinced, that much of this crime may be attributed to intemperance; for in such respect, the habits of the people are far from irreproachable. Those persons apprehended for drunkenness, and for drunkenness combined with disorderly conduct, numbered 3,655, or very nearly one-half of the entire committals; while the apprehensions and convictions for breaches of the peace (possibly attendant upon inebriety) amounted to 587. From the same statistics I discover that juvenile delinquency is rather predominant in the Montreal district. The total

number of offenders whose ages ranged from ten to twenty years is 1,108, or about one-seventh of the entire criminal population. Taking the total number of criminals, their nationality may be thus classified:—Belonging to Ireland, 3,664; French Canadians, 2,057; English, 1,024; Scotch, 527; British Canadians, 270; United States, 136; from other countries, 1,124.

The gaol of Montreal is a comparatively new and substantial building, very well adapted for the purposes of a prison. It is situated in the suburbs. On the day of my visit (July 26th) it contained three hundred and thirty-four inmates, there being nearly an equal proportion of each sex. Of that number thirty-one were untried. The average age of the prisoners was thirty years. During the year 1861, the greatest number confined at one time was three hundred and eighty-one.

## CHAPTER XI.

## FETES AND FEASTING.

**Visit of the Governor-General - Civic and Military Display—Scene at the Wharf—The Public Reception—His Excellency's Reply to the Corporate Address—The Cortège—Concert at the "Crystal Palace"—Banquet at St. Lawrence Hall—The Levée—Dramatic Performance by Military Amateurs—Grand Review and Mimic Flight on Logan's Farm.**

THE first visit of the Governor-General to Montreal was productive of unusual excitement. Since the Prince of Wales honoured the city with his presence, no such enthusiasm had been manifested. On Monday, June 30th, the Mayor issued a proclamation, embodying the official announcement that his Excellency would arrive in the city at four o'clock p.m., on the following day, and inviting "the citizens generally to unite with the Corporation in giving a most cordial welcome" to the distinguished visitor. This civic appeal seemed indeed a work of supererogation, so far at least as stimulating the loyalty of the people was concerned; nor do I believe it had much effect in enhancing the public display. Lord Monck and his *suite* had left Quebec in the

*Queen Victoria* (a small screw-steamer, specially chartered for the occasion) on Monday evening, and during his journey to Montreal, called at Sorel, and other small towns, where he was publicly received and presented with addresses.

About three o'clock on Tuesday, July 1st, all the troops in garrison, in addition to several Volunteer regiments, turned out in honour of the occasion. The former were arranged in double line along every street through which the *cortège* was to pass, from the Wharf to the St. Lawrence Hall, where handsomely furnished apartments were provided for the noble guest, and his attendants. Along the Albert Wharf a guard of honour, composed of the Grenadier Guards, was drawn up; a company of the Prince of Wales' Volunteer Rifles performing a similar duty in the rear. Both the Guards and the citizen soldiers had each their bugle band. The huge bearskin shakos of the Grenadiers (which I understood they wore for the first time), and the prim uniforms of the Volunteers had a highly imposing effect. Guards of honour, composed of the Fusiliers and the Victoria Rifles were also displayed in front of the St. Lawrence Hall, from the dome of which palatial hotel the English standard proudly waved. Crowds of eager spectators congregated adjacent to the landing place.

where his Excellency was to disembark; and it required great exertion on the part of both military and police to prevent the dense masses from encroaching beyond the circumscribed boundary. Hundreds of persons might have been observed blackening the decks and mounted on the rigging of vessels, high as they could climb, and even out upon the yard-arms, to testify their allegiance to her Majesty's representative. An accident occurred in consequence (that, fortunately, did not prove serious), which was witnessed by Lord Monck and his party, as the *Queen Victoria* happened to be approaching the Wharf at the time. A vessel in the Albert Basin lay close to where the steamer had to be moored. Every portion of this schooner (apart from the deck, which was crowded) where it was possible to stand or climb, or maintain a position by the exercise of strategy or agility, was occupied. The entire ship looked one black mass of human life. Owing to the immense number of people distributed so unequally over the vessel, especially on the rigging, it evinced signs of unsteadiness for a moment, then swayed to and fro, and finally gave one sudden bound, careering to the port side until her bulwarks almost touched the water. Numbers of persons were suddenly dashed from the rigging, or else threw themselves off, during

a momentary paroxysm of terror, upon those on deck, while others jumped into the river. The panic was severe and general. The spectators on shore nearest the vessel caught the alarm, and endeavoured ineffectually to escape from the ship's masts, that seemed in unpleasant proximity to their heads. So compact was the crowd that no individual composing the huge living block could move an inch even at the peril of his life! Providentially, the schooner, upon being relieved of its excessive burden, heeled to the larboard side, and quickly righted again; consequently, no more serious disasters occurred than those occasioned by fright and the sousing in the St. Lawrence. It was surprising in what an incredibly short time the entire rigging of the vessel became cleared of its adventurous occupants, just with the same rapidity as a *prestidigitateur* would perform a conjuring trick. *Hic Presto!* and they disappeared on to the deck and—into the water!

The gentlemen who assembled on the Albert Wharf in readiness to receive his Excellency, comprised the Mayor (who wore his collar of office) and Corporation, the Honourable the Premier, and the Honourable Messieurs M'Gee and Dorion, General Sir W. F. Williams (the hero of Kars), Commander of the Forces in Canada, General Lord Paulet, Honourable Colonel Percy,

Judge Coursol, the Recorder, and a few city Counsellors. The author was also privileged to form one of the group. Precisely at four o'clock, as previously announced, the *Queen Victoria* steamed alongside the Wharf, when the lusty and prolonged acclamation of human voices almost drowned the thunder of the guns fired from the fort on St. Helen's Island. Those cheers had for me a deep signification. I learned from them and through them the political sentiments of the people, and how devotedly they were attached to English institutions and to our good and gracious Sovereign. The scene at the Wharf was picturesque and exciting. All the vessels in port had their colours gaily streaming. But when Lord Monck and his suite disembarked, and the military band struck up the National Anthem, popular enthusiasm had reached its highest pitch. People waved their hats and raised their voices in a deafening shout. The reception of the Governor-General was brilliant and intense; so much so as sensibly to move the honoured visitor. Lord Monck's *suite* consisted of Major-General Doyle, Colonel Paynter, Mr. Godley, Private Secretary, Captain Retallack, Military Secretary, Lieut-Colonel de Salaberry, Lieut-Colonel Irvine, and Mr. Brand. Between his Excellency and the members of the Cabinet, General



Williams and others, a very warm greeting took place. Immediately after this friendly recognition, the Mayor, Mr. Beandry, approached the Governor, and presented an address of the usual character, which, owing to the fact of his having been a French Canadian, he read most imperfectly, repeatedly stumbling in his attempts. During the reading Lord Monck several times bowed his acknowledgments.

His Excellency, in a clear, sonorous, and impressive manner, then read the annexed reply to the Corporate address—a reply that deeply affected those who heard it :—

“ Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for your cordial welcome on my visit to the city of Montreal, as the representative of our Sovereign. I receive with pleasure the assurances of your feelings of loyalty and fidelity to the Queen—feelings which I am certain would develop themselves into action should it become necessary to defend her Majesty’s Crown and dignity in this part of her dominions. The domestic dissensions which still unhappily prevail amongst the inhabitants of the United States Republic, must be a cause of deep regret to all who desire the progress of mankind and the development of civilization, more especially to those who, like yourselves, from close juxta-

position, have so many interests in common with that people. I rejoice to think that Canada has been spared the infliction of war, and I fervently pray that foreign attack and domestic dissension may ever be strangers to her shores. I thank you for the expression of your wish to render my stay amongst you agreeable; and I assure you I promise myself great pleasure in making myself acquainted with your city and its institutions."

His Excellency having concluded his reply, which was received with greetings, was conducted to a carriage and four, in readiness for his reception. He was attended by the Honourable Mr. Sicotte, Attorney-General, East, General Williams, and the Mayor, the escort consisting of a troop of cavalry. A line of carriages followed, occupied by civic officials, military officers, ministers, and private gentlemen.

The *cortége* slowly wound its way along the leading streets, and finally drew up in front of St. Lawrence Hall. All the line of route was thickly lined with spectators; the windows of stores and private houses were filled principally with gaily attired ladies, who waved their delicate hands and virgin pocket handkerchiefs gracefully in the air, while around and above them were displayed the British flag and other *insignia*,

many of which were suspended by cords midway across the thoroughfares. The ovation was magnificent. Both the day and the pageant were equally fine, and nothing was wanting that could impart *éclat* to the Governor's reception.

As a wind-up to the day's proceedings, a grand military concert was given; previous to which Lord Monek inspected a battery of Montreal Volunteers. Both took place in the Crystal Palace—an immense structure, hideously ugly, originally erected as a banquet hall during the visit of the Prince of Wales. To compensate in some degree for the dreary look of the interior, several banners were displayed in front of the building, rendering the *coup d'œil* on entering tolerably imposing. Every available seat was occupied by well-dressed spectators, many of whom had travelled hundred of miles to auspicate the visit of the Governor-General. Shortly after nine o'clock his Excellency arrived, attended by General Williams, Lord Paulet, General Doyle, and other distinguished officers. Just before Lord Monek had taken his seat on the *dais*, the band struck up "God Save the Queen." The effect of the National air was highly exhilarating, and created much enthusiasm. Afterwards a brigade of Volunteer Artillery, under Major Hogan, went through a variety of evolu-

tions; and with their battery of four field pieces, which they trailed and otherwise exercised in the body of the hall, greatly contributed to the entertainment of every one present, for considerably over an hour. Drill being over the artillerists were drawn up in front of the platform, when his Excellency descended from the *duis*, and in the course of some well-timed observations remarked, that "he would not presume to express his opinion on the performance of the battery, but that of the distinguished Generals beside him, who were more conversant with military matters; and their opinion was highly gratifying."

An excellent concert succeeded, and as a *finale*, three lusty cheers were given for Lord Monck, while the band again repeated "God save the Queen"—an air that lighted up every countenance, as it evidently touched every heart. Later in the evening his Excellency witnessed a well got up dramatic performance given by the garrison amateurs at the Theatre Royal. The dress circle looked very brilliant, owing to the intermixture of scarlet coats and spreading crinolines.

Next morning, at the early hour of eight o'clock, a brilliant review was held on Logan's Farm, situated in the suburbs. About three thousand troops assembled upon a magnificent plateau, skirted on one side by a handsome grove

and by a deep ravine on the other. The regiments on the ground comprised an Armstrong battery of nine guns, under Major Penn; the Royal Artillery (Colonel Furner); Royal Engineers (Captain Gordon); Grenadier Guards (Hon. Colonel Percy); Scotch Fusilier Guards (Colonel Dalrymple); 16th Regiment (Major Garrett); and the 47th Regiment (Colonel Kelly). The troops, as they arrived on the ground, formed into line on the eastern side of the plateau, facing in a westerly direction; the battery taking up position on the extreme right, and the 10th Royal Artillery on the left. When the troops had all formed into line a few rounds were fired from the Armstrong guns, creating a sound that made the very earth tremble. Directly afterwards the Governor-General appeared on the field, mounted on a spirited charger, attended by General Williams, Lord Paulet, General Doyle, and their respective staffs. The scene was most impressive and imposing—indeed, a grander military spectacle I have seldom beheld on the American continent, or even in Europe. An additional charm was imparted to the effect by the surrounding landscape. Westwardly, the broad turgent St. Lawrence pursued its silent course along thickly-wooded banks and islands, exposing rising and thriving villages here and there, in-

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dedicated by unpretending-looking churches with tall spires, that glistened like mirrors in the morning sunlight. Further, and Montreal spread out to the wandering eye, while the numerous turrets and minarets which adorn that city deluded the imagination into the belief that one was in an Eastern land. More westwardly still appeared the great Victoria Bridge—that noble monument of modern engineering skill—with the village of Laprarie on the opposite shore; the cottage roofs sparkling like moon beams on a limpid lake.

After the troops had been inspected, a grand mimie fight took place. The firing of the Guards was excellent; so much so as to call forth flattering encomiums from several officers. Although every soldier discharged his piece as quickly as it could be loaded, nevertheless so uniform and precise was the firing that it appeared unbroken. Upon the 47th Regiment being thrown out as a skirmishing party, they made a sudden sortie, and, approaching within disagreeable proximity to groups of spectators on foot and in carriages, caused no slight panic by the unexpected discharge of their rifles full in the civilians' faces. A general "stampede" ensued; the ladies screamed, and the horses became restive. However ludicrous in itself, it possessed a degree of seriousness; but, fortunately, no accident occurred

in consequence. When the engineers were withdrawn from the copse they had been defending, all the troops deployed into line, and then into column. While the "military salute" was being given, the band played the National air. The sight was highly imposing; and I am not aware that the citizens of Montreal had ever before witnessed so brilliant a military *fête*.

In the evening a grand banquet was given to his Excellency Viscount Monck, by the citizens, to which I had the honour of being invited. About two hundred guests were present, consisting of the city authorities, military officers, members of the Government, of both houses of the Legislature, and of the learned professions, in addition to all the leading residents. The capacious dining saloon of the St. Lawrence Hall was tastefully festooned with cedar branches, and further adorned with the Royal Arms, portraits of the Queen and the late Duke of Wellington, besides several banners bearing appropriate devices. A military band was in attendance. The banquet was *recherché* in every respect, and the order and arrangement were alike faultless. As there is a closer affinity existing between civilisation and the culinary art than at first sight appears, I subjoin the "Bill of Fare," which, together with the musical programme and the list of toasts, was neatly printed in gold :—

## DINNER BILL OF FARE.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1862.

## SOUP.

Green Turtle.

A la Reine.

## FISH.

Boiled Salmon, Lobster Sauce.

## ENTREES.

Petit Pâté aux Huîtres.

Rix de Veau Piqué au Petit Pois.

Cotelettes d'Agneau au Champignon.

Suprême de Volaille aux Truffés.

## JOINTS.

Roast Filet of Beef, with Yorkshire Pudding.

Roast Lamb, Mint Sauce. Roast Ducks.

Roast Ham, Champagne Sauce,

Boiled Round of Beef and Greens.

Boiled Turkey and Oyster Sauce. Boiled Leg Mutton and Caper Sauce.

Boiled Tongues.

## VEGETABLES.

New Potatoes.

Green Peas.

Cauliflowers.

Lettuce.

Asparagus.

Cucumbers.

Spinach.

## GAME.

Venison.

Guinea Hens.

Ducklings.

Spring Chickens.

Lobster Salad.

Chicken Salad.

## PASTRY.

Plain Pudding.

Fruit Jelly.

Strawberry Bavaroise.

Charlotte Russe.

Gooseberry Pastry.

Merengues, with Cream.

Italian Cream.

Nugas.

Pyramids.

Ice Creams.

## DESSERT.

Grapes.

Oranges.

Pine Apples.

Strawberries.

Fancy Cakes.

Apples.

Nuts, &amp;c., &amp;c.

## WINES.

Champagne (Green Seal and Lac d'Or.) Sparkling Hock and Moselle.

Sherry.

Port.

Claret.

Sauterne.

Cider Cup.

Claret Cup.

Coffee and Liqueurs.



The Mayor, in proposing the toast of "The Queen," and "The Prince of Wales," gave utterance to the most loyal sentiments, which were received with every testimony of an equally loyal feeling on the part of those present. His Worship then gave "The Health of our noble guest, Lord Monck," the response to which was enthusiastic.

In an appropriate speech, his Excellency returned hearty thanks for the high honour conferred upon him, and adverted to the critical position of Canada in language that could not be misunderstood. He observed that "he was not vain enough to take so grand a demonstration as a personal compliment. He accepted of and regarded it as an evidence of the loyal feelings by which they were actuated, and of attachment to that Sovereign whose representative he was. The kindness they had shown him," he continued, "had emboldened him to make some remarks, not in an official capacity, but in the capacity of one who took a warm interest in all that concerned them. He was afraid that what he was going to say would abolish some of the feeling produced by the remarks of the chairman. The latter told them that Canada occupied a position that had never before been attained by any country of similar size. But we had the entire control of our own

affairs ; our commerce and our frontier were protected without our afterwards being called upon to bear any part of the expense. He was bound to tell them, as a friend, that this state of things could not exist much longer. The plain truth had better be told at once. There was but one quarter from which Canada could be attacked, and that was from over the frontier. Up to the last year there was no other excitement than that of commercial action ; but to-day, he regretted to say, the whole nation was turned into one vast camp. The change was observed with pain and regret by the mother-country and by ourselves ; and the return to peaceful industry would be gladly welcomed. It would be madness if one did not recognise the existence of a large army in that country. He did not make this remark because he entertained any apprehension that they should be attacked, but in the words of one older and more sagacious, he would say that if they wanted to be independent and on terms of intimacy with the neighbouring country, it could only be by being prepared to defend themselves from attack. It was not necessary that they should anticipate attack, but they should constantly be in a state of sufficient defence. These were the words of the most able English statesman—he

meant the Prime Minister. In case of aggression, they might depend upon it the whole resources of the empire would be put forth to defend Canada, no matter from what point the attack came. They must, however, remember that Canada formed part of the empire, and would have to become liable for some of the expense. Although he did not wish to make any assertion as to what would be expended by England or by the Colonies, still he was sure that England would deal it out with no niggard hand. England could not, in case of invasion, supply men to defend Canada; but stout hearts and strong hands would then be found in Canada, and he was satisfied that they would not be wanting in such an emergency. The people of Canada should put forth some effort to prevent the risk of an attack. He thought it his duty, as a friend, to lay these views before them, and he therefore had the more agreeable task of alluding to the wonderful development of industry among them. Canada, and Montreal in particular, might look forward with confidence to the future. Their progress for several years past had been as remarkable as it had been satisfactory. They might be told that they had not a fertile soil; but he believed that those nations which had to struggle against

nature were those which afterwards went forth and conquered not only their fellow men, but all the difficulties of life !”

Lord Monek’s address was listened to with breathless attention, and evoked repeated plaudits. A brilliant assemblage of ladies occupied the gallery. These were evidently delighted at the manner in which the “lords of creation” enjoyed the profuse bounties of nature so lavishly spread out before them. The elegant effect of the saloon was heightened by three massive chandeliers, and by branches arranged at either side.

One slight occurrence, however, slightly marred the harmony of the proceedings. The Mayor in proposing one of the toasts that, as chairman, fell to his lot, observed that “it was better for Canada to be connected with England, because it was *cheaper* that such should be the case.” Now, the Mayor happened to be a French Canadian who understood and spoke the English language very imperfectly. The unfortunate and ill-timed expressions to which he gave utterance may have been the result of his inacquaintance with our forms of speech, or else may have been simply a *lapsus lingue*. At all events, he gave condign offence for having estimated Canadian loyalty at so low a rate. Should he again become a candidate for civic honours, I fear he would be in a

sorry minority. Animadverting upon the Mayor's inadvertence, a French Canadian observed to me a short time afterwards :—

“Sir, there is more security for life and property under the English flag than we could either have or hope for under that of any other nation; and therefore, if necessary, I shall fight and die to preserve Canada a British dependency. Why should our Mayor have taken so contemptible a view of our allegiance as to suppose it could be actuated by mere monetary considerations?”

Next day Lord Monek held a *levée*, in the saloon of the St. Lawrence Hall, which was numerous and influentially attended, more so, indeed, than upon any similar occasion. The leading people of the Province vied with each other in testifying their deep loyalty and attachment to Her Majesty through her representative. Considerable effect was added to the spectacle by the uniforms worn by the officers of the line and the Militia—a display enhanced by the robes of the clergy, professors of colleges, and members of the bar. The *tout ensemble* was admirable; and the proceedings were conducted with consummate order and courtly state.

## CHAPTER XII.

## KAKOUNA, "THE BRIGHTON OF CANADA."

Quitting Montreal—On Board a Steamer—Town of Sorel—Its Historical Interest—Cascade of Chambli—Rivière du Loup—Kakouna—Topography of the Place—French Canadian Lodging-House Keepers—O'Neill's Hotel—Fashionable Life at this Watering Place—A Gifted Jehu—A Yankee Speculator—An "Artist" *par excellence*—An Indian Encampment—Visit to a Convent—The Catholic Church—Sunday Auction for the Benefit of a Soul in Purgatory—Drive to the Falls—A Strange Story—Atmospherical Phenomena in the Lower St. Lawrence.

I LEFT Montreal on a sultry July evening, in one of those steamers which ply daily between that city and Quebec. These river boats present a most unsightly appearance, being clumsily built, after the American fashion, and having their machinery upon deck. For the most part the accommodation is unexceptionable. The saloons embrace the entire length of the vessels, at either side of which are confined state rooms, wherein two tiers of berths are fitted up. In the centre of the saloons tables of an oblong form are placed, upon which meals are served at appointed times. Here also are pianofortes for the use of

passengers; and volatile maids and gawky strip-lings, during the voyage, pass the evening in dancing, singing, and playing, to the manifest delight of the "old folk," in whom such an exhibition probably revive the recollection of long buried joys. Ladies who seek retirement have private saloons specially appropriated to their use, and gentlemen addicted to "liquor," can obtain all the refreshment they require at the "bars," in which suffocating cribs the most jovial of the *voyageurs* sit, stand, smoke, and drink at night for hours together. The boat in which I journeyed had over two hundred souls on board, a number rather above than below the general average, although judging from the quiet appearance of Montreal, no stranger could believe that so many travellers passed through it daily. With the exception of Sorel there is no place of interest along the St. Lawrence until you arrive at Quebec, and the scenery is exceedingly tame, monotonous, and uninteresting.

The little unpretending town of Sorel possesses more or less of historical importance. The first mission for the propagation of the gospel in Canada, was established here. Here also the first Protestant church was erected, the bell of which is the oldest on that side of the Atlantic. The first Protestant settlers were United Empire



Loyalists, who gave up their property in the States rather than become subjects of a foreign Power. The place itself takes its name from one *Sieur de Saurel*, a French engineering officer, who built a fort at the mouth of the *Richelieu*, to defend it from the ravages of the Indian tribes who then infested that region. The remains of an old moat are still observable, said to have been the scene of a terrible struggle between the French and those marauders. Along the banks of the *Richelieu* was quartered, in 1777, the army of General Burgoyne. From the time of Sir Frederick Haldimand, who built the Government cottages, both the Governors-General, and the Commanders-in-Chief, have made this spot their summer residence. Two members of the reigning Royal Family have visited Sorel — viz., the Duke of Clarence, then serving in the navy, and the Duke of Kent. Upon the presentation of an address to the former, his Royal Highness was pleased to sanction the change of the designation of the town to that of his own, William Henry.

In the neighbourhood a certain river conveys the waters of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence, after having formed a cascade of two leagues at Charrbli. Sorel, at one time carried on a great trade in beaver skins. Several tribes of Indians



used to resort hither in vast numbers to exchange their furs and skins for other goods.

At eight o'clock next morning the steamer arrived at the Quebec Wharf, where another boat—the *Magnet*—was in readiness to convey passengers to Rivière du Loup, a distance of one hundred and twenty six miles on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence. A scene of confusion ensued, owing to the searching for, and changing of luggage. A porter seized my portmanteau, carried it off somewhere, and it was fully half-an hour before I could find either, and only just as the cry was given—"all aboard." But this is quite an usual occurrence, and decidedly detracts from the pleasure of travelling. These minor arrangements upon which so much temporary happiness or misery depends, are managed much better at home. After a while, however, one gets accustomed to such annoyances so as to regard them as inseparable concomitants of travelling in English America.

The neighbourhood of Rivière du Loup is exceedingly picturesque. Huge mountains, mostly bleak, barren, and uninhabitable, meet the eye, while rugged cliffs extend for miles along the broad island-dotted St. Lawrence, frowning in defiant majesty. But even in this region the busy hand of man has not been idle. Here and there,

at either side, long lines of wooden cottages extend—the domiciles of French Canadians—and as the walls and shingle roofs of these buildings are generally whitewashed, they present a very cleanly if not interesting appearance. About six p.m. the steamer arrived at its destination, when I speedily got into a carriage and drove to Kakouna (a journey of some half-a-dozen miles), to the cottage occupied by General Williamson, formerly of the United States Army, who had invited me to spend a few weeks with himself and his amiable niece.

Kakouna, or Cacouna, is an insignificant village on the border of the St. Lawrence. This “Brighton of Canada,” as it is somewhat affectedly called, seems to afford wonderful attraction to Canadians during the sultry summer months. I am at a loss, however, to discover what those attractions are. I never visited a more dreary or woe-begone place in my life. It would make a capital penal settlement; and as there is a difficulty in knowing how to dispose of the more dangerous class of criminals in the colony, I would suggest that Kakouna be converted into a receptacle of this kind. In the background is a bare flat-country, sparsely inhabited, with a miserable human habitation dotted about here and there, appearing like specks in the distance. In the foreground is the

river St. Lawrence, half hidden by woods and out-houses, and bounded by bleak, rugged cliffs, which frown on you from the opposite shore. The village itself consists of some two hundred straggling wooden tenements, low, and incommo-  
dious, the property of the *habitans*, which they let out to visitors at exorbitant prices during the "fashionab'le" season.

These simple-looking French Canadians are notorious adepts at swindling, although from their isolated position, their limited wants, and their priest-ridden condition, one would scarcely look for such a trait in their character. They are likewise ineffably mean and parsimonious; and, notwithstanding the possession of every necessary, would nevertheless receive the crumbs from your table as abjectly as the veriest mendicant. In illustration of their sharp practice the following incident will suffice. A friend of mine, desiring to pass a few months at this place, commissioned an agent in Quebec to procure for him a furnished cottage. Finally, such was apparently obtained, though the rent demanded was extortionate, owing to the concourse of visitors to Kakouna during the season. Judge, kind reader, of my friend's surprise when, upon taking possession, he discovered that the cottage contained no other furniture than two tables, two beds, a chair, and a water jug!

No redress could readily or easily be obtained, so my friend had to exercise patience, and procure, as a matter of favour, necessary articles from the sympathising proprietor of Russell's Hotel in Quebec.

There is an hotel at Kakouna, which is closed during the greater part of the year, kept by a genial Irishman, named O'Neill, who, I was informed, fed his guests almost exclusively upon ham and eggs. Certainly, very little else could be obtained in this remote region; and those visitors who could not "rough it," were compelled to procure luxuries either from Quebec or Montreal. One morning I encountered at the hotel a number of distinguished people, including the Premier's wife and daughters; the daughters and relatives of other Ministers; the President of the Executive Council; Baron Boilleau, the French Consul-General, and his lady; and persons of similar social grades. They appeared to have had a pleasant time of it, notwithstanding the Canadian fishy-flavoured ham. Dancing parties were got up occasionally in the evening, when the guests, who numbered ten ladies for one gentleman, whirled themselves round and round, in a room of small dimensions, to the music of a very indifferent instrument.

Why it is that people resort to this locality every

season is more than I can divine. To my mind it is the most dreary-looking spot that could well be selected; the only prospect being uncultivated forests, the river, and towering bluffs, when the fog does not obscure the vision. A single week here is quite enough to afflict one with chronic *ennui*, even with all the accessories to comfort that could possibly be procured. The only specimen of animated nature to be found are wild mules, gaunt bristly pigs, with long legs, bony bodies, and donkeys' ears, excepting huge flies, ducks, and chickens. The flies are most villanously pertinacious and provoking. They gather round your bed at daylight, and buzz hoarsely into your ears, while they bite like hungry mosquitoes when they have the chance. To guard against assault I was compelled to protect my face with the bed clothes, preferring to be half smothered than exposed to their unmerciful attacks. I have come to the conclusion that, with all its disadvantages and draw-backs, Kakouna is a *dernier ressort*, owing to its being the only watering place in Canada.

Why so many people who wish to be esteemed "fashionable" congregate in Kakouna is, as I have before remarked, beyond any conjecture of mine. The sea-bathing, unquestionably, is very good—when the tide is in; but the difficulty of getting to the beach is great. One has to des-

cend dizzy precipices, sprinkled over with masses of slippery slate, that there is imminent danger of breaking one's neck, or else being toppled over the huge, steep, rugged cliffs. Once I accomplished the feat in a very awkward manner, holding on to the rocks occasionally for support, and so descended in safety. For no earthly consideration would I venture upon such an exploit again; and yet I was told that ladies most intrepidly ran the risk, albeit the slimy pathway down the declivity is not nearly as wide as the crinolines so extensively worn in Canada, as well as in Europe. The real attraction of Kakouna consists, I apprehend, in a puerile, insensate superstition, to which all Lower Canadians are more or less addicted—namely, the virtues believed to exist in the salt water; although there is an excellent sulphur spring in the neighbourhood, to which nobody resorts. Visitors to this place are in the habit of drinking and gorging their stomachs with the sea water daily; and many, when returning to their homes, bring away the same in bottles. Great virtue is considered to be inherent in it; and it is regarded something after the manner that the Irish Roman Catholics do the “holy wells” of their country.

As in a dull village of this kind time hangs heavily, and amusements are circumscribed, it is

all but impossible to escape *ennui*. One foggy evening, after having walked about a mile, I entered the parlour of the hotel as drenched as if I had been dipped in the neighbouring river. Reader, dilate no more on the miseries of a November fog in London; an August fog in Kakouna beats it hollow! Well, in this dingy apartment were congregated some fifteen or twenty ladies, in the prime of life, and in the bloom of womanhood. Such a grave assemblage of women I have seldom seen. Some were engaged in needlework; others were reading, or affecting to read; but every countenance was sombre, even to a painful degree of expression. Scarcely a word was interchanged—a circumstance, considering the character of the company, which struck me as remarkable. I thought within myself what sacrifices people made to the idol Fashion, and how much happier those individuals would have been in their own homes, and among their respective families. But then, what is happiness, compared to the opinion people entertain of you? It is not “the thing” to remain in town during the whole year. To violate social arrangements in this respect, would be considered unpardonably vulgar, even for a Canadian. Hence the necessity for “keeping up appearances.”

The general routine of life during the Kakouna



season consists in sleeping, eating, bathing, driving, dancing, and, though last not least, love making. Sometimes, by way of variety, beds are placed in hay-carts, and the "young people" take rides through the country in groups of a dozen or more. This the ladies call "perfectly delightful," and I have no doubt it is, although I have not been tempted into trying the experiment. Occasionally the visitors of both sexes find themselves in dire perplexity for music by which to measure their steps, when they trip it on the green sward on picnic occasions. Kakouna only possesses one musician, whose services can be had for a consideration. This individual is the driver of a *calèche*, but also acts in the capacity of a wagoner. In fact he follows a variety of occupations, rendering his presence very uncertain when his services are needed as a votary of Apollo. A French gentleman observed, respecting this gifted Jehu:—

"Dis be man of omnibus vocation. Sometime he make de pig-pen; sometime he drive nail in shingle on de house; den he cut me hare, shave me berd, make me shoe, and den he make de music for de dance."

During my brief stay in the village a Ynnkee speculator, or, more properly, peculator, arrived there—where will not this class of adventurer



penetrate?—in order to dispose of Brummagem jewellery. He hired the baker's shop for the occasion, which simply consisted of a small room ten feet square. Outside the door was displayed a white flag, upon which was printed in bold characters the following notice:—

“GREAT ROYAL GIFT STORE—  
SOMETHING NEW.”

Each evening an auction took place, when some mock auctioneer ascended the platform, formed by a couple of planks supported by a few empty flour barrels. Thus propped and perched up, with his head bobbing against the ceiling of the apartment, this man endeavoured to dispose of cheap and trashy wares to *calèche* drivers and village girls, who filled the room almost to suffocation; some of whom actually danced with joy over the tinselled trifles and garish gewgaws which were knocked down to them for what the mounted vendor designated “a Yankee sixpence.” Pipes containing foul tobacco were freely smoked during the occasion, and as the only means of ventilation was the door, which was generally blocked up, the condition of the atmosphere became consequently insupportable. Such a compound of villanous smells are not often experienced. However the contents of the

“Royal Gift Store” may have been deserving of the appellation, this, I will be bound for it, was altogether “something new.”

Owing to the large influx of English-speaking visitors to Kakouna, an enterprising French-Canadian “artist” honoured that village with his presence, and opened a temporary photographic studio, in some out-of-the-way place. As a ludicrous specimen of French-English, I subjoin an announcement (*verbatim et literatim*) issued by him :—

“PORTRAITS! PORTRAITS! AT VERY GOOD CHEAP!—The undersigned artist invites the parishioners of Cacouna, who wish to have their portrait taken and profit of the good cheap to come and visit the numerous portraits which he shows at the little building situated near the road which conduct to the river St. Lawrence. They will assure themselves of the portraits offered at very good cheap and with a very fine box.”

This composition is a curiosity in its way, and will, doubtless, provoke a smile.

One day I visited an Indian encampment in close proximity to the village. The wigwams, which were formed of birch branches, covered with birch bark, stretched along the shore and

had rather a picturesque appearance. I found the men and women very industrious. Some were occupied in building canoes; others in preparing food; but the majority of the squaws were busily engaged in making baskets, fans, and other fancy articles, out of Indian grass and reeds. A few of the aged squaws wore breast-plates of tin. These are termed "Niskman;" and are only used by those tribes who pride themselves on their caste and follow the superstitious customs of their order. Most of those people, however, were apparently members of the Roman Catholic faith, judging from the beads and crosses I observed suspended in their wigwams and the "Miraculous Medals" around the women's necks. I conversed with two of the Indians, who seemed very intelligent, and could speak French well and English fairly. They answered all my questions with readiness and clearness. The Indians of Lower Canada wander about during summer in order to vend their commodities, but on the approach of autumn return to their various settlements. They are considered a quiet, harmless, inoffensive people; and one of them assured me that his band never touched ardent spirits.

Accompanied by General Williamson and his niece, I visited the convent of the Sœurs de la Charité—a very excellent establishment,

although entirely constructed of planks. The ladies—one of whom is from England—got up a lottery bazaar of fancy articles, including a number of things, from dolls and dolls' bedsteads up to sacerdotal vestments, all of which were to be raffled for in the evening, and the proceeds devoted to the completion of the nunnery, still in an unfinished state. I was gallant enough to invest a trifle in the purchase of tickets (which I did not accept) at the solicitation of the fair attendants, who were presided over by the sisterhood, with some of whom I got into converse, as well as with two ecclesiastics who happened to be present. One was a thin, spare, cadaverous individual of most ascetic appearance, who might easily have been mistaken for a Carthusian monk. The other was an obese, round-waisted, jaunty, jolly looking fellow, the *beau-ideal* of the fat, fescennine friars of olden time, who laughed and quaffed and illustrated the maxim in their own persons, that those who would lead a good life had need to live well. After leaving the chapel of the convent to which I was conducted by *ma Mère Supérieure*, I entered a reception room below stairs, wherein a few of the nuns were engaged. On a small square table in the centre of the apartment, I observed, nicely arranged, a number of common clay pipes, together with tobacco and cigars.

Upon opening the door and noticing these articles my risibility became unrestrained, and the good sisters, quickly realising the suggestion which had produced my merriment, positively laughed outright themselves. Afterwards I was informed that the strange commodities alluded to—and they certainly seemed to me ludicrously out of place in a conventual establishment—were for sale, in order to aid the bazaar, which eventually produced a very handsome sum. This religious community only numbered five ladies. The head establishment is at Quebec; that at Kakouna being but an affiliation or branch of the “mother house.” These daughters of St. Vincent de Paul employ themselves in a very useful manner. They teach school, visit the sick, and fulfil many other acts of mercy and charity. Most of the “sisters” are young, and some appeared both interesting and intelligent.

There is a Roman Catholic Chapel in the village capable of accommodating one thousand persons. It is to me a matter of astonishment how these French Canadians realise funds sufficient for the erection of large churches and the maintenance of their clergy; and yet, go to any village and you are struck with their efforts in these respects. Tithes are paid to the priests; and I have heard of farmers who refused to im-

prove their holdings because of the extra levy that would be made upon them by their spiritual directors.

The first Sunday after my arrival I attended the Catholic Church—the only place of worship at present erected—where a high mass was performed in a very low manner. Only one priest was dressed in canonicals. On either side of the high altar were arranged groups of choristers habited in surplices. The singing was so bad and the voices so “out of tune and harsh,” that I was compelled to retire long before the service had concluded. Such raising and straining of the vocal chords no delicate ear could abide. The noise was intolerable, and could only be compared to the bleating of a flock of sheep, or the bellowing of some scores of oxen. Had there been any instrumental music the cracked hoarse voices would have acted upon the auricle with less violence; as it was the effect was not only disagreeable, but painful. After mass the congregation assembled outside of the church in a wide open space, where *calèches* and other vehicles were drawn up in a line. Shortly afterwards an auction took place; a usual occurrence, with which the devotional exercises of the morning are terminated. On this occasion a little porker was put up, and finally knocked down “for the benefit of a soul in Pur-

gatory!" Such was the laudable object ostensibly assigned by the auctioneer, in bad French, although, properly speaking, the proceeds of the sale were to go into the pockets of a priest, for repeating a mass or masses for the repose of some spirit which had departed this life, and about whose comfort the proprietor of the said porkling was solicitous. Finally, notices were read respecting cottages and lands to be offered for sale during the week. During these proceedings boys were busily occupied selling raspberries, which grow wild and in profusion about this part of the country.

One evening I drove to Rivière du Loup with the double object of obtaining a glimpse of the Falls, and having a look at the town, for it possesses that dignified appellation, having been "incorporated" a few years since. In some parts the road was very bad, and even dangerous, and occasionally impassable on foot. Pools of stagnant water overflowed the road in close proximity to cottages, almost entering the very doors, and yet the *habitans* were either too indifferent or too indolent to fill up the hollows. The Falls are situated nearly half-a-mile from the town, and although inferior and less imposing than those of Montmorenci, near Quebec, are nevertheless worth a visit. The water, which was not



then voluminous, has a descent of one hundred feet through a crevice in a rock, upon the summit of which I mounted, and gazed down upon the roaring cataract beneath. Nature around seemed wofully bare and barren; in fact, I do not remember ever having visited so utterly wild a place. The town of Rivière du Loup is built upon an acclivity, from which an extensive view of the St. Lawrence can be obtained. The cottages are more or less detached, and a few appeared somewhat ornamental, for so dreary a locality. Fifteen hundred inhabitants are scattered about; but, judging from appearances, a stranger would not regard the population to be one quarter of that number. I noticed several half-clad, dirty, barefooted children, and some wretched looking hovels here and there; nay, I have even observed entire families pent up in barns, and in huts scarcely good enough for swine, which caused me to observe to my fellow-tourists:—

“After all said about England, the peasantry of the ‘old country’ seem to me far better off, and to be far better fed and clothed than many of the same class I have observed in this.”

A romantic story is told concerning Rivière du Loup, which goes far to prove that fact is sometimes stranger than fiction. About thirty years ago a vessel which had sailed from England



happened to be wrecked upon the coast. A bar or ledge of rock traverses the St. Lawrence north and south, near this point, rendering the greater portion of the river unnavigable, and leaving but a narrow passage through an aperture for the entrance and exit of ships. During squally weather vessels are sometimes driven upon these rocks, or else towards the shore, and meet with speedy destruction. On board the foundered vessel I have mentioned was an English gentleman named George Edward Ewell, son of the Governor of Columbia at that period. This young man was fortunately saved from drowning by a fisherman, one of a class who exclusively inhabited the coast, although at such a comparatively recent date. He was taken to the fisherman's log hut on the beach, for not even the nucleus of a village was in existence then. At first the stranger had great difficulty in making known his wants, being unacquainted with the French, and especially the *patois* spoken by the people by whom he was surrounded. After a while, however, he managed to pick up sufficient knowledge of the language so as to render himself understood. It being the winter season, and no possible communication then opened up between Quebec and Rivière du Loup, he was compelled by necessity to remain an unwilling

guest of the hospitable fisherman for several months.

The fisherman had a daughter, a very uncomely-looking person, for whom the Englishman formed an attachment, and to whom he eventually became allied. Shortly after his marriage he returned to his native country, where he sojourned nearly four years, owing to the death of his father (who for some time previous had resided in London) and the delay produced by the legal arrangements consequent upon the settlement of the patrimonial estate. Meanwhile his wife had received no tidings of her wealthy lord; and her friends twitted her for her folly in espousing a husband whom they persisted had deserted her, and whom she would never see again. Certainly, there was apparent cause for grave upbraidings and the worst suspicions. After much weary, and perhaps hopeful waiting, the fugitive did return at last, with a splendid carriage, livery servants, and a showy equipage. Upon his arrival he was greeted as "Lord George Edward." He re-joined his spouse in her father's humble cottage, but soon afterwards built a commodious stone edifice—the only one in the locality—which still remains an object of attraction and curiosity to visitors. The romantic husband did not relish his new surroundings, so

he gave himself up to fishing and carousing, making boon companions of the fishermen. This career did not last long. Ewell died three years after his return, leaving a widow and an only daughter. The former being in possession of a large estate, soon attracted the attention of suitors from distant quarters. Among the rest was a French physician named Boleau, whose persevering overtures were finally accepted. The doctor's brother finally got married to the daughter, thus securing the entire property to themselves. Rumour with her busy tongue reported that the doctor and his wife did not live happily together. One thing is certain, she was never seen driving about or in company with him; while it was averred that she never went abroad or received visitors, but led a life of perfect seclusion. What fiction can be stranger than the facts thus recorded?

The atmospherical phenomena of summer in the Lower St. Lawrence are certainly well worthy of the descriptive pen of some future Jean Paul. I have gazed wonderingly and almost enchantedly upon skies which, if portrayed upon the canvas of Turner, I should have been tempted to pronounce wholly out of Nature. Whether it is that the vapours engendered between the Mexican Gulf stream and the Arctic counter current of this

entire coast are draughted inward by every easterly and southerly wind; or whether from the immense local evaporation occasioned by the high temperature of the mid hours of a Canadian summer's day, following on cool, not to say chilly, nights, or from the combined operation of both causes, certain it is that never did heat and moisture play such pranks upon the eye and the imagination. Within the short space of twenty minutes I have seen the huge expanse of waters before Kakouna—seven leagues across, from shore to shore—wrapped in a thin white gauze, through which phantom ships seemed to steal without the aid of the winds, when suddenly the vapour has been rolled up as completely and almost as rapidly as a theatrical curtain. During certain hours of the day the exhalations became lifted up in masses, bow-shaped, pillar-shaped, and bird-shaped. Indeed, some of the sunsets on this great river were the most gorgeous I ever beheld. At times the St. Lawrence appeared as though it were one vast sheet of flame; while the tall cliffs in the distance seemed to reflect its brilliancy—almost too glowing for the eye to gaze upon. Then the sun would sink, when the waters and bluffs presented the appearance of a blackened mass, almost distressing to behold. At night I have seen the stars in all their Arctic

glory, and the weird Aurora Borealis, with its ghostly glow, like Plato's twilight, or the Scandinavian Ragnarok, which is to close the era of existence both for gods and men! Further eastward, on the Labrador coast, and in Newfoundland, I have been told what I have nowhere seen mentioned, that the Aurora can be distinctly heard at night, rushing overhead, with a sharp, swift sound, like the flight of innumerable rockets. So old residents have assured me. Of course I pretend to no personal knowledge on the subject.

I had arranged with the Honourable D'Arcy M'Gee to make a trip with him to the River Saguenay before proceeding to Quebec. Accordingly, we drove down, in defiance of an inundating rain storm, to Rivière du Loup, for the purpose of meeting the steamer which plied from thence to that magnificently stern region, where, by some mighty convulsion of nature, a huge mountain had been ripped asunder, opening up a deep gorge for the river to pass through without caring to smooth down the marks of the rupture. However, we experienced the painful mortification of observing the vessel steam away from the Wharf before it was possible to reach it. I had no alternative but to take refuge for the night in a neighbouring hotel. No further opportunity

occurred of viewing the majestic scenery of the Saguenay—a river wide and deep, situated at the *debouchure* of the St. Lawrence, having bare and precipitous rocks at either side, rising in awful grandeur nearly two thousand feet above that dark-browed sullen, sluggish tide,

“ Whose gloomy shore  
Skylark never warbles o'er.”

For seventy miles up this wonderful river is navigable for vessels of the largest tonnage. Then occur rapids and cataracts—

“ Boiling, wheeling, foaming, thundering down ;”

when, at the extent of forty leagues it issues from out Lake St. John, beyond which for over two hundred miles, in a north-westerly direction, it pursues its ruffled but unflagging course. The peculiarly sombre colour of this “King of Rivers,” as it has been aptly styled, is by some travellers attributed to the presence of pitch-pines on its banks, intensified by its prodigious depth, and the shade of its lofty margin. Few sights on our globe are said to be more majestic or impressive.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## RETURN TO QUEBEC.

French-Canadian Pretensions—The Exodus from the States—  
Yankee Emissaries Discomfited—Outrages by Federal Senti-  
nels at Niagara—A Volunteer Hero—The Turf Club Races—  
Military Murders.

ON returning to Quebec early in August, I found that a controversy of more than local interest had sprung up between the French and English press and their several representatives in the new Cabinet. The point at issue was the settlement of the waste lands of the Crown, especially in Lower Canada, where one hundred millions of unoccupied acres were alleged to be available, and more or less capable of cultivation. The policy of throwing open these waste lands on equal terms to all comers, whether natural born subjects of her Majesty, or foreigners desirous of entering into British allegiance, had long been advocated by Mr. M'Gee, to whom it was confidently expected—indeed the announcement was official—that the immigration portfolio would be entrusted. But the French-Canadian population



of Canada East, who for many years had become more intense and exaggerated in the assertion of what they call their "nationality," formed a strong combination against this arrangement, so that the Ministry at this period were undecided as to what course they should adopt. The French journals—of which there are four published at Quebec, one at Three Rivers, one at Sorel, two at St. Hyacinthe, one at St. John on the Richelieu, one at Ottawa, and three at Montreal—had all clamourously united in the cry of "Lower Canada for the French." Against this species of Know-nothingism Mr. M'Gee was the only Lower Canadian statesman who had the moral courage boldly to contend. The contest was exceeding embittered, and seemed likely to be protracted, especially as the British population appeared supine on the question, while the other party acted with hierarchical unanimity.

To illustrate the extent of French-Canadian pretensions, I transcribe the following propositions from an issue of the *Gazette de Sorel*, embodying the conditions on which alone a Lower Canadian Minister may look for support from the patrons of that journal:—

"Firstly—Firm opposition to the Intercolonial Railway.



“Secondly—Seat of Government in Lower Canada at Quebec.

“Thirdly—Colonisation of Lower Canada by French-Canadians as much as possible, and by means of homogeneous immigration, viz., French, Belgian, and Swiss.

“Fourthly—Supreme effort of the Government for that end.

“Fifthly—Encouragement of commercial relations and closer intimacy with France.”

Every British subject at home as well as in the colony is interested in the issue of this grave contest; which was then expected to have become the turning-point in the fate of the McDonald-Sicotte administration during the ensuing session of the provincial Parliament. It was thought that the Montreal district and Upper Canada would probably be found arrayed on one side, and French Canada—that is, the country from Three Rivers downwards to the Gulf—on the other. The British, however, are to their opponents nearly as two to one; but, unfortunately, they are neither so compact nor so resolute in the assertion of their rights as the French are in the maintenance of their exclusive “nationality.”

“This Lower Canadian rivalry,” said a gentleman to me, whilst conversing upon political sub-

jects, "is entirely attributable to the privileges and immunities granted by England to these people when she took possession of Canada. The policy was short-sighted, however liberal. Had the English Government then abolished French laws and the French language, the Lower Canadian population would have been compelled to amalgamate more freely with their English fellow-subjects; and the country would have been saved an infinity of trouble, while its prosperity, instead of being retarded, would unquestionably have been advanced."

About this time a general exodus had set in from the Federal States, to various portions of the Province, a movement indubitably induced by the President's threatened conscription. As many as four hundred people passed over the Niagara Suspension Bridge in one day. Through Detroit the rush had been tremendous. The trains arrived laden with young and middle-aged men from all parts of the West, who were "flying to Canada like cravens to escape the draught." So observed a local journal. People were crossing the frontier in shoals. The railway "cars" and the steamboats were crowded to inconvenience. Many of the refugees were mechanics, and young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty, and consequently liable to the first

draught. Among the rest were Federal soldiers—deserters from the army—and others who had fled from a land of terrors, to escape Southern fever or Southern bullets. One day a train entered London, containing about fifty young Northerners. When jumping on to the platform, one of them ejaculated:—

“Hurrah, boys! here we are all safe at last! ‘God Save the Queen,’ and ‘Rule Britannia!’”

An officer belonging to the Military Train addressed me from Montreal in the following strain:—

“Since you left this city it has become quite inundated with supporters of the Union, who require change of air during this hot season, *pour passer le temps*. Some persons have been so ungenerous as to intimate that the presence of these people is attributable to their efforts to avoid conscription—a statement which neither you nor I can accredit.”

Indeed this incursion was unparalleled. The newspapers of Upper Canada were unanimous in recording the immense influx of persons who, by some means or another, had contrived to smuggle themselves across the frontier. So great was the legion of visitors that in certain towns no accommodation could be obtained either in hotels or lodging-houses; while the phrase “American

refugee" had become as common in Canada as Italian or French refugee used formerly to be in New York.

For several weeks did this "skedaddling" uninterruptedly continue from the States, notwithstanding that a military cordon was established along the frontier, with provost-marshals to detect and arrest fugitives. Some recalcitrants while endeavouring to evade the dreaded conscription not only risked but positively encountered death in the attempt. I was informed by a fine, strapping young fellow who had succeeded in effecting his escape from New York, that three men were shot in trying to elude the guard posted near Niagara Bridge. The young gentleman to whom I have just referred, happened to be a fellow voyager from America to Europe during the previous year, when he gave great offence by the swaggering manner in which he spoke of the Americans, and the snpercilious contempt he manifested for English institutions. But he had become greatly crestfallen when I encountered him in Quebec. He informed me that upon his return home he had found matters too disagreeable to induce him to remain; that the President had issued a proclamation such as was likely to interfere with his personal liberty; therefore, deeming prudence the better part of valour, he accordingly determined to "quit his

country and his father's house." So he got into a car one fine morning, and never stopped till he reached within ten miles of Rouse's Point. The night being dark, and the train travelling slowly, he ran the risk of jumping off the "car," which he succeeded in accomplishing without detriment to his life or limbs. He then pursued his journey on foot, and by this means evaded the sentinel stationed at the railway terminus. Unfortunately the luggage he had brought with him he thought it advisable not to claim, as detection may have resulted therefrom; so, being limited to the resources necessary to defray his expenses to Europe, whither he was bound, his condition was anything but enviable. To escape from the train before reaching Rouse's Point was evidently an afterthought, upon ascertaining that pickets were posted in the vicinity of the railway station.

The expedients adopted by numbers of young men in the better walks of life, in order to cross the frontier, were as ludicrous as they were ingenious. Some disguised themselves in women's garb; a few escaped by having procured Crimean medals—which I was informed would then fetch a high premium in New York—and thereby passing themselves off for British subjects; others stowed themselves away in ships; while more daring adventurers ran the risk of suffocation by suffering themselves to be placed in casks, and

then deposited as freight in the holds of vessels ! Every species of Yankee ingenuity it was possible to devise, was employed to avoid the dreaded horrors of conscription. The fact is, that the Northern people seemed to have lost all heart and hope, and "the Young Napoleon's" retreat from Harrison's Landing, with the mere remnant of an army, to the point of his departure months before, without achieving a single military triumph or advantage, was not calculated to revive either the one or the other. General McClellan had had a series of dire disasters, that hovered about him "as doth the raven o'er the infected house." His defeat and retreat, combined with the decimation of his army by battle and disease, were severe punishments enough for that silly egotism and egregious boasting which he displayed before he moved "onwards to Richmond." But the gods are just, and invariably frustrate the schemes of human arrogance.

At this juncture a very extraordinary notification appeared in the *Montreal Herald* to the following effect :—

"NOTICE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS IN CANADA.

"American citizens liable to military duty, now sojourning in Canada, are informed that if they return to the United States by the 15th of August, or before any draft is made, they will be permitted to return to their respective places of residence without molestation.—August 15th, 1862."

My first impression led me to suppose that this notice had been issued by the Federal States Consul at Montreal; probably my conjecture may not have been ill-founded. Still, was it not remarkable that the document should have borne no signature? Then it struck me that some officious and not official individual had inserted the same with the view of indulging his ironical humour. But how could this have been when the *Herald* was decidedly anti-secessional in its policy, and possessed the reputation of being a Federal organ—so that the proprietor and editor would assuredly have suffered no ruse to be practised on him. All things considered, I was led to the conclusion that the notice referred to had emanated from an authentic source.

Agents of the Federal Government were also scattered over the Province, endeavouring, it was averred, to enlist men for the Northern service by the offer of bounties combined with collateral advantages. Some endeavoured to cloak their legitimate mission by the flimsy pretext of procuring employment for young and able-bodied men. Their nefarious object, however, was speedily discovered; consequently their efforts to augment the Northern army were nipped in the bud. One day intelligence was transmitted to the authorities that an American staying at one of the hotels



in Quebec had been holding out inducements to persons to violate their allegiance as subjects of the Queen. It was said that he offered to pay the travelling expenses of young men willing to accompany him into the States, and that he pointed out the peculiar advantages derivable from enlistment while high rates of bounty prevailed. The Judge of Sessions had taken steps to ascertain whether any unlawful attempts of this nature had been made. Meanwhile the fellow decamped. I have seen the suspected individual, and candidly confess that there was something about him anything but reassuring. If there be any truth in the proverb, "*Vultus est index animi*," then am I right in my conjecture. He possessed a villanous look, that upon the very first sight inspired the beholder with distrust. One evening a scene of excitement occurred in the bar-room of the hotel, where this man and myself were staying. The Yankee adventurer had attracted the numerous guests of the establishment, and even strangers from the streets, so that the spacious bar-room was densely thronged. A negro melodist—that is, a white man with a blackened face—happened to be playing upon a banjo. The suspected individual, and one or two of his associates, endeavoured to get the melodist to perform "Yankee Doodle," but the attempt was



hissed down, followed by shouts of execration. Finally, the "National Anthem" was struck up by desire, when every head was immediately uncovered. I simply narrate this circumstance as indicative of loyal feeling on the part of the British population. After this occasion we heard no more of the American, with the exception that he had started by the night train—no one knew wither. As it was, he had a narrow escape from being roughly handled; but in all probability, had he delayed his departure but a few hours longer, he would have been secured and deposited in prison.

Next day I was attracted by the presence of a Federal soldier, of most woe-begone aspect, having his uniform hanging in shreds. He came to the principal entrance of the Russell House, thrust in his head, and looked wistfully about.

"What or whom do you require?" I asked, drily; at the same time observing the United States buttons on his grey shoddy uniform.

"Sare," he answered, with bated breath, "ain't there a recruiting serjant here? I calkilate to see him."

This interrogative fully explained the objects, and was "confirmation strong" of the illegality of the suspected person's mission.

"I am not aware," I observed, "of any such

individual as you look for being in the hotel. There was, however, an American here yesterday, about whom unpleasant rumours were in circulation ; so much so that he took his hasty departure. Is that the person you are after ?”

“ Wall, I guess, sare, that’s the man I’m looking up. We were in the same regiment, sare, and he was my serjant.”

“ Then his object in Canada was not good,” I rejoined.

“ As for that, sare, I guess I can’t say ; but I want to see him slick.”

“ I am afraid,” I remarked, “ that your presence in Quebec will cause you some annoyance. I suppose you are a deserter ?”

“ No, mister, I ain’t *that*, either. I’ve been in a many actions and got wounded last June, in them seven days’ battle before Richmond. Look’ee here, sare,” and he held up his right hand, which I observed was *minus* the forefinger.

“ I perceive you have been wounded, and apparently are no deserter,” I continued. “ Surely you have a decent pension, and need not be in the pitiable plight you seem ?”

“ No, mister,” he replied, “ I’ve been in three engagements ; got wounded as you see, sare, and when I quit the hospital, I was turned adrift without pension, or reward of any kind. ’Tis

a very hard case; but I guess there are hundreds in the same fix. So I came to this country to hunt up something to do; and hearing that my old comrade was here, I was told he had money, and I wanted assistance! That's the entire truth, sare."

Although but a comparatively young man, this poor fellow looked old, shrivelled, bronzed, and withered; and as far as my judgment went, was perfectly incapacitated from working for a living.

A Northern emissary, named Max, was somewhat more successful in Hamilton, Canada West, than his colleague who had just made a sudden exit from Quebec. The former succeeded in engaging a number of Canadians in that city upon pretence of affording them work in a cotton factory at Chicago. Twenty of the supposed *employés* went on to Windsor, intending to cross over to Detroit. Before reaching their destination, however, a few were rendered insensible by drugged liquor. On arriving at Detroit, they were accosted by Federal officers, when the eyes of the sober men opened to the snare set to entrap them. Clearly, it was intended to force them into the Federal ranks, as there was no cotton factory in the town. Discovering the trick that had been practised upon them, they seized the miserable German and compelled him to recross

the river, and then and there, under threat of instant immersion, caused him reluctantly to disgorge three hundred dollars, partly as a recompense and partly to defray their expenses home to their families. This amount was generously shared with ten other dupes, who had been similarly deceived, and had travelled to Windsor, where the occurrence created considerable excitement. It was fortunate for the German that the deception he practised did not cause him the forfeiture of his life. I regret to state that the tempting offers of bounty held out by the War Office at Washington, had induced several British soldiers to desert from the garrison on the Island of Orleans. The garrison of Quebec, however, was creditably free from such disaffection, although unhappily tainted with crimes of still deeper turpitude, to which I shall duly revert.

During the exodus from the States, Federal sentries, stationed on the Niagara frontier, had been playing pranks with Canadians. These sentinels had received orders to prevent American citizens from crossing over into Canada. A bevy of undisciplined soldiers construed their instructions into a right to challenge, and bring to, boats belonging to the other side; and, in order to compel obedience, frequently fired into the same.

One day a sailing boat started from Queenstown

on a pleasure excursion; and although having received three shots, one of which riddled the sail, she refused to be "brought to," and pursued her way. On the following day, the Sergeant-Major of the Canadian Rifles, four privates of the same regiment, and half-a-dozen women, were proceeding down the river in a row boat, when, without warning, they were unceremoniously fired at from the American shore. After the first shot the boat was ordered to be "brought to." The assaulted party, hesitating whether to obey the rude mandate or not, were fired upon a second time. As the Sergeant-Major was ignorant of what the firing meant, he determined to find it out; and accordingly directed the steersman to make for the other side. It was then about seven o'clock p.m., and quite light at the time. Upon landing the British soldiers stepped up to the assaulting party, and inquired, in no very complimentary language, what they meant by such dastardly conduct, and why they should have fired upon women in the boat? To these interrogatives the sentinels snivelled out a number of paltry excuses, to the effect that "it was a mistake firing at them;" that they "did not observe the women;" and that they "had orders to stop all the cowards who were leaving the States to avoid the draft." So indignant were the "Britishers" that

but for the urgent interference of the Sergeant-Major, unarmed as they were, they would have fallen on the Yankee guard and flung them into the river.

Shortly after my return to the Capital I made the very agreeable acquaintance of Lieutenant-Colonel Light, commandant of a Militia and Volunteer Rifle Company, nt Woodstock, Canada West, the very *beau ideal* of a soldier and a patriot. The Colonel's mission to Quebec was to press on the Government the expediency of embodying additional Volunteers in the county of Oxford, especially as five hundred men had, for several months previously, been willing to join the active force of the Province. This suggestion was highly approved of by the Premier, who accordingly sanctioned the formation of four additional Rifle Corps and two troops of Cavalry in the county specified. It was thought that, as he did this for one district, the probability was that a similar policy would be pursued towards others, until the country would be placed in a fair position of defence should any rupture unfortunately occur with the neighbouring States. And here it is important to make one observation. The county of Oxford is notorious in Canadian history, for having supplied nearly the entire of Duncan's army during the Rebellion, of which

Duncan and Mackenzie were the celebrated leaders. But since then what a change has come over the spirit of the people! The loyal feeling existing in 1862 throughout the whole of this once rebellious district afforded a striking but not less pleasing contrast to that which obtained during the revolutionary period of 1837-38.

Colonel Light is unquestionably a man of mark, and a disinterestedly loyal Volunteer commandant, who has "done the State some service;" characteristics that will readily be inferred from the few eventful incidents of his life, which I append by way of memoir:—

Ever since the year 1837, Colonel Light has been engaged in the Militia service, both active and sedentary; in fact, was but seventeen years of age when he first became a volunteer. During the insurrection he had charge of a cavalry troop at Norwich, under command of the late Sir Allan McNab. Then he volunteered into the Naval Brigade at Chippawa, under Commodore Drew, who appointed him coxswain of a gun boat. He subsequently assisted in the attack on the insurgent steamer, *Caroline*, engaged in conveying ammunitions of war to Navy Island, in the Niagara channel, and was bowman of the boat under command of Lieut. Elmsley, R.N., the crew of which as-

saulted, boarded, and finally burned that vessel. Colonel Light is the individual referred to by Sir Francis Head, in his "Narrative," as having unmoored the steamer from the Wharf at Fort Schlosser, while under a sharp fire of rifles, and as having been accidentally left on board the *Caroline* alone, the vessel meanwhile burning rapidly, and as rapidly drifting towards the Niagara Falls. From this appallingly perilous position he was relieved by the daring of Lieut. Baird's boat crew, who, at imminent peril to themselves, succeeded in rescuing their comrade from a fearful death! A few minutes had but elapsed when the blazing mass was precipitated over the furious cataract into the boiling waters—a moment hidden, and then appearing in frittered, segregated remnants, frizzing and floating on the surface!—a wild and majestic scene worthy of a Raphael's art or a Dante's genius to delineate or describe.

As a reward for the daring exhibited by the young hero, in assisting to assault and burn the *Caroline*, he was appointed aide-de-camp to Commodore Drew. Afterwards he raised a party of Volunteers to man a gun-boat for the purpose of attacking the American steam-ship *Barcelona*; but when their guns were pointed and matches lighted in readiness to fire, orders were received not



to prosecute the assault. In 1838, Colonel Light assisted in raising a Volunteer company, that became amalgamated with the incorporated battalion, called the Brantford Light Infantry, in which he held rank as acting-adjutant. During 1841, he formed a Volunteer flank company of "minute men" for active service, if required, under the general order of December 14, 1840. Five years later he organised a troop of Volunteer cavalry, and came under the favourable notice of Lord Cathcart, who was a friend of his father's. In 1857, he was elected by the Highland Society of Oxford county to the command of their Rifle corps; and the same year was also appointed captain of a Volunteer cavalry troop. He was commissioned by the Government in 1861 to take charge of and re-organise the Woodstock Volunteer Rifle Company, when in a demoralised condition, the Governor-General expressly stating, through Colonel de Salaberry, Adjutant-General of Militia, that the appointment should not in any way interfere with his position as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Oxford Volunteer force. He accordingly set vigorously to work, got rid of all the inefficient men in the company, so that it became reduced to five; and since October, 1861, had augmented his command to fifty-nine effective members. These

are all picked men, as none were allowed to join the force without having first received the Colonel's approval. A drill school had been established since the time of the *Trent* difficulty, which was regularly attended by commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates. Colonel Light's father was a full Colonel in the 25th Light Infantry, and had seen much active service. His uncle is Admiral Smart, K.H., who is in command of the Channel Fleet. The subject of this brief notice—who has resided, as must be already inferred, over thirty years in Canada,—assured me that he did not believe one disloyal or disaffected person was to be found in the western district of the Province — none willing to exchange British for American rule.

I was induced during my stay in Quebec to attend the annual Turf Club races, which took place in September, three miles from town, on the St. Charles' Road. Hitherto these races had been held on the plains of Abraham. Owing, however, to some *fracas* that had taken place between a party of military and some civilians, the use of this classic ground was forbidden for sporting purposes. The chief interest centred in the opening race for the Queen's Plate of fifty guineas, contributed by Her Majesty, for horses bred in Lower Canada only, and which had never

won public money. Six entries were made for this race. Contrasted with the English sport of a similar nature, the affair was most miserable. The course itself—enclosed with planks—was unsuitable, being but half a mile in circumference. In the centre was a small stand, shingle-roofed, designed for stewards and a few favoured individuals. Some yards apart stood the “grand stand,” a rough and unsightly-looking structure, one hundred feet long by perhaps twenty feet wide, partially filled with any but the *élite* of Quebec society. Here and there, like an oasis in the desert, peered a female face, half hidden by a parasol, which, without exhibiting any particular radiance, relieved the dull monotony of the scene. The more select portion of the spectators occupied front tiers, while behind were perched a number of persons, who, from their appearance and attire, I judged to be *calèche* drivers. Upon descending to the basement, I found it was open and appropriated as a refreshment “bar,” by an hotel keeper in the Lower Town, who, I was informed, paid a high premium for the privilege; but whose villanous New York brandy, and new rye whisky, soon exhibited their delirious effects upon those who had imbibed even but moderately thereof. On the grounds,—covered with *débris* left after the workmen,—were a few private

vehicles, any number of *calèches*, and a solitary carriage and pair, looking melancholy in its isolation, in which were the only ladies I observed during the day's proceedings. His Excellency the Governor-General, and his son (a youth about fifteen years of age), attended by his lordship's private secretary, Mr. Godley, and his aide-de-camp, Captain Ratallack, arrived on horseback some time after the first heat had been run. Several rows occurred, and most of the waiters got drunk, and were lying about the field long before the races had concluded. No policemen were present that I could observe, although the deprivation was of little importance, for a more awkward, undisciplined, puny, and inefficient force could not be found out of Quebec.

Contiguous to the "grand stand" was fixed a roulette table, presided over by an old grey-headed, grey-whiskered Irishman, who, in a loud stentorian voice, that almost frightened the horses, and with consummate confidence in the effect of his invitation, roared out:—

"Now then, sporting gents, here the father stands with the mother, and the mother with the daughter, put your money down anywhere you like! This is a branch of the great English roulette, where the English put crowns and doubloons. Two must win every time. Pay

your penny or a York shilling a piece, whichever you like. Two are sure to win!"

Outside of the course was erected an apple stand, and four rough, hastily-constructed, unfinished plank booths, wherein refreshments were served out. The shanties looked as uninviting as the viands they contained. In a central position was a marquee, the only decent-looking temporary structure that could be observed. People who could not afford, or who wished to evade payment of their "quarter" for admission, clambered up on the wooden fences, from which uncomfortable but elevated positions several of the spectators tumbled off, greatly to the merriment of their more fortunate neighbours. The whole arrangement had a "rowdy" look about it, and impressed me far from favourably. After the races terminated a scene of indescribable confusion followed in front of the entrance gate. This was occasioned by the difficulty of getting vehicles to move, the road being partially blocked up by dirty-looking groups of people, besides a collection of *calèches*, the drivers meanwhile heaping imprecations upon each other in their favourite *patois*, more expressive than elegant. I had quite enough of a Quebec race-course the first day, so I did not repeat my visit, but left the hurdle-race to go off as best it might.

Within the incredible period of two months, three military murders were perpetrated in Quebec, the victim on each occasion being a sergeant of one of the regiments in garrison, and the murderer a private in the same corps. The case that produced most excitement and sympathy was that of Colour-Sergeant Ryall, the particulars of whose assassination may perhaps be worthy of record:—

One morning, shortly after the 17th Regiment had assembled in the quadrangular parade ground of the Jesuits' Barrack, and were in the act of "falling in," a private of No. 5 Company, named Tynan, stepped one pace to the front, deliberately leveled his rifle, and shot Colour-Sergeant Ryall, who happened to be but a few yards distant from the assassin. The ball entered the Sergeant's left breast, and perforated his heart, producing instantaneous death. Immediately the murderer was seized and conveyed to the guard-house cells. On his way thither he acknowledged that he was aware of the crime he had committed, but manifested not the slightest compunction.

Sergeant Ryall,—who has left a wife and seven children to deplore his miserable fate,—had been seventeen years in the service, although having scarcely arrived at what is technically termed the

prime of life. For seven years he occupied the post of Colour-Sergeant. He was considered in every respect a most exemplary man, lenient to those under him, and always acting under the high promptings and principles of duty. No soldier in the regiment was more generally esteemed. The assassin, Tynan, had been nearly eight years in the service, and up to the time of this melancholy occurrence, with the exception of being remarkable for quickness of temper, was tolerably well conducted. At the inquest next day, when the prisoner was brought before the jury (in the custody of a guard with drawn bayonets), and while in the presence of the murdered man, he was asked by the Coroner if he recognised the body. To this interrogative Tynan replied, without betraying the least emotion:—

“I do; it is that of Colour-Sergeant Ryall!”

From all that I could learn, and from my personal observation of the culprit when in prison, I am inclined to attribute the horrible murder of Sergeant Ryall to homicidal mania. I take this view of the lamentable occurrence no less on the ground of humanity than in defence of the British army. It was averred that Tynan had entertained a grudge against his victim, simply because he was ordered to procure a new shako and some other matters, for which the private



would have had to pay out of his scanty resources. But one cannot reconcile it to reason that so trivial a circumstance could have engendered a feeling of deadly hostility. For some time before the murderer had manifested symptoms which had caused him to be placed under strict surveillance. His comrades affirmed that, although ordinarily a quiet man in the regiment, he was nevertheless occasionally subject to cerebral attacks, and that he had only returned from hospital, where he had been treated for temporary insanity, just prior to the perpetration of the horrible deed. A sergeant of the same regiment assured me, however, that the assassin "knew very well what he was about." But, if there exist sufficient grounds to establish these periodical aberrations of intellect, then I think there is something like *prima facie* evidence that the wretched man was impelled to the commission of this crime under an influence which seems as uncontrollable as it is unaccountable.

After the assassination, in a similar manner, of a sergeant at Montreal, I was dining at mess with Captain McFarlan, and other officers of the Military Train, stationed in that city. Conversation happened to turn upon the fact and frequency of these high-class offences in the British army, upon which one officer remarked :—



“I should not be surprised if these cowardly murders would spread throughout every garrison town in the Province. If condign punishment, by order of court-martial, be not inflicted, and that summarily, upon the perpetrators of such enormities, instead of handing the culprits over to the civil authorities, we shall next hear of officers, and not sergeants, becoming the victims either of cold-blooded malice or of delirious resentment.”

Those who have studied the startling phases of criminal jurisprudence, are well aware that on the commission of some extraordinary crime, others of a similar character almost invariably succeed. Whether the publicity of such an occurrence as that I have presupposed, acts upon the latent criminal propensities hitherto undeveloped, or whether to an ill-regulated and ill-balanced mind the passion for notoriety may not be paramount to even the love of life, is not for a non-professional writer like myself to decide.

A scene so solemnly touching and affecting as the funeral of the deceased Colour-Sergeant, had rarely been witnessed in Quebec. At nine o'clock a.m. on the day of the funeral, the coffined remains of the lamented soldier were removed from the dead-house of the military hospital to the open space in the Barraek. A procession was then formed in the following order :—

Firing-party of 18 men with arms reversed.

A Sergeant and Corporal.

The Bands of the 17th Regiment and 60th Rifles.

The Undertaker.

THE COFFIN,

With hat and sword of deceased, covered with a black pall  
and Union-jack, borne by eight Non-commissioned  
Officers and Pall-bearers.

The Wife and Children of Deceased.

Carriage containing Female Relatives and Friends of  
Deceased.

Privates of the 17th Regiment.

Non-commissioned Officers of the 17th Regiment.

One Company of the 60th Rifles.

One Company of Artillery.

Pensioners and Citizens.

The Colonel and other Commissioned Officers  
of the 17th Regiment.

When the *cortège* moved on at a very slow pace the bands alternately played the "Dead March" in *Saul*. At the Cemetery gate the procession was met by the Abbé Ferland, one of the Chaplains to the forces. The burial service having concluded, the firing party, who had previously taken up position by the side of the grave, were ordered to load, and three successive volleys were discharged—the last sad but honourable tribute that can be paid to a soldier, no matter how inferior or distinguished his rank. Soon as the firing ceased, the "National Anthem" was struck up, during the performance of which most of the spectators stood uncovered. A touching incident finally occurred when two sons of the deceased Sergeant supported their mother to the brink of the grave, where they witnessed the lowering of the body to

its last resting place. Traces of sorrow were plainly observable on every countenance; and those who had fought many a battle had now a difficulty in suppressing their emotions. Over a thousand civilians were present at the ceremony.

The Plains of Abraham were one day the scene of a very brilliant military spectacle, on which occasion all the troops in garrison turned out. This display had ostensibly for its object the presentation of the Victoria Cross to Captain Burslam, 60th Rifles; but Colonel Paynter, the Commandant, seized the opportunity to take farewell of, and address a few parting words to, his men before resigning his post and returning to Europe. Their Excellencies Lord Monck and Earl Mulgrave (who had arrived the day before), and some Members of the Cabinet were present. There was a paucity of spectators, who consisted for the most part of ragged urchins and idle labourers. Nothing seems to arouse the "Quebecers," they are so torpid, mentally and physically—not even a grand military demonstration.

A square having been formed, Colonel Paynter proceeded to attach the decoration to the gallant Captain's breast, a ceremony accompanied by expressions highly, and no doubt deservedly, flattering to the honoured recipient. The Colonel then addressed the troops in simple but energetic

language. He complimented them for the manner in which his slightest order had been obeyed during the three and a half years he held command of the Quebec garrison, and adverted with marked emotion to the melancholy occurrences that had taken place, the perpetration of which he attributed entirely to an indomitable love for strong drink, unhappily indulged in by many British soldiers.

“The army,” observed Colonel Paynter, “had never been wanting in physical bravery in the field, but moral bravery in the camp was often wanting. A soldier who would dash the tempting glass from his lips would be respected by his companions, and prove himself possessed of the highest degree of bravery—moral courage!”

Perhaps in no country are such vile liquors retailed as in the Province. Bad Canadian grain whisky is adulterated with the most deleterious compounds,—amongst the rest what is termed “silent spirit,” which, when taken in copious quantities, exercises maddening influences upon the brain, thereby giving rise to egregious crimes. And this is the abominable stuff sold to British soldiers in those miserable haunts where, unhappily, they are accustomed to resort.

When Colonel Paynter had taken leave of his men, the troops went through a variety of evolu-

tions, "marching past" in quick and slow time and firing by sections. The sharp-shooters performed their complicated manœuvres with great precision. Finally, the entire garrison formed into line and fired a *feu de joie*, the effect of which was highly effective. A battery of four field-pieces was likewise brought into requisition, and greatly enhanced the magnificence of the spectacle. To me the event was a godsend, as it served to relieve the dull—very dull monotony of life in Quebec.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE LATE SIR ALLAN NAPIER MACNAB.

**Antecedents of the Defunct Baronet—His Progenitors—The School Boy Soldier and the Midshipman—Studies Law, and Commences Practice as an Advocate—Attains the Rank of Queen's Counsel—Becomes a Member and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly—He Engages in the Rebellion, and Marches to the Protection of Toronto—He Receives the Honour of Knighthood and the Commendation of the Queen—Sir Allan's Parliamentary Career—His Attendance upon the Prince of Wales—His Personal Appearance and Character—His Last Illness—Indecorous Scenes at his Death and Burial—The Protestant Clergyman and the Roman Catholic Bishop.**

AN universal, if not a profound sense of sorrow was created throughout the Province by the death of Sir Allan MacNab, who expired at Dundurn Castle, (named after his grandfather's house in the Highlands of Scotland), Hamilton, C.W., about the middle of August. Although for several years Sir Allan had laboured under occasional attacks of indisposition, nevertheless he attended assiduously to his parliamentary duties, and it was not expected that so stirring and useful a life would be brought to so sudden a close. A short

sketch of this remarkable man's career, and the painful circumstances that attended his death, will not fail to interest especially lovers of the "sensational."

Sir Allan MacNab, Bart., Member of the Legislative Council, was born at Niagara, in the year 1798. His grandsire, Major Robert MacNab, of the 42nd Regiment, or "Black Watch," was a Royal Forester, and resided upon a small estate called Dundurn, at the head of Loch Earn. His father held a commission, first in the 71st Regiment, and afterwards in a dragoon corps, but was attached to General Simcoe's staff during the American Revolution. So soon as peace was restored Captain MacNab accompanied General Simcoe to Canada. When the Americans attacked Toronto, Sir Allan, then a mere school-boy, formed one of the number of youths selected as able to carry a musket; and after the authorities surrendered the city, he retreated with the army to Kingston.

Shortly afterwards he was rated as midshipman on board Sir James Yeo's ship, when he joined the expedition to Genessee, and other places on the American side of the Lake. Again we find him as an ensign doing good service in the 100th Regiment on the Niagara frontier, and at Plattsburg. Finally the peace left him on half-pay. He next turned his attention to the

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study of law, and was employed as Clerk of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly. In 1825, he was called to the bar, when he commenced practice as an advocate at Hamilton. After some time he was promoted to the dignity of Queen's Counsel, the first occasion on which that honour had been conferred in Canada. Four years later he was returned to Parliament for Wentworth county. While going through the routine of a member, and also Speaker of the House, Sir Allan was summoned into an arena, probably more congenial to his tastes, by the eventful Rebellion of 1837. His early acquaintance with military tactics, his perfect knowledge of the country, combined with his courage, activity, and facility of command, rendered him most prominent among the Loyalists who took part in the defence of Canada. With the men of yore, hastily summoned from their farms and workshops, he bravely marched to the protection of Toronto, and, as I have already stated, took part in the Navy Island operations. For these valuable services he received the honour of Knighthood, in addition to the commendation of the Queen and the Provincial Legislature.

After the Union, Sir Allan MacNab was elected to Parliament for the city of Hamilton, several times in succession. He became Speaker of Lord



Metcalf's Parliament in 1844, and materially assisted his party in their retention of office under trying circumstances. When the Baldwin and Lafontaine Administration was formed in 1848, Sir Allan took the leadership of the Conservative Opposition, and strongly inveighed against the Rebellion Losses Bill—a resistance which resulted in the burning of the Parliamentary Buildings in Montreal. In 1854, he was called upon to form a Government, in which he retained office until 1856, when he was ousted by an alleged intrigue carried on by his colleague in the Government, Mr. J. A. Macdonald, the late Premier, generally known as “the Disraeli of the House,” and unquestionably a shrewd, clever, and gifted statesman, of whose acquaintance I feel proud. Shortly before the dissolution of Parliament in 1857, Sir Allan resigned his seat for Hamilton, and proceeded to this country with the view of making it his permanent abode. Accordingly in 1859, having previously received the rank of baronet, he became a candidate for the borough of Brighton, but was defeated by a considerable majority. His health, which had been delicate, having improved, he altered his former intention, and returned to Canada—a circumstance to which his non-success at the Brighton hustings may have in part contributed. In 1860, he became a

candidate for a seat in the Legislative Council, and was duly elected. Subsequently he became reconciled to Mr. J. A. Macdonald, leader of the Upper Canada section of the Government, and at the opening of the Session of 1862, was chosen the first elective Speaker of the Council.

No public individual in Canada had enjoyed similar honours to those conferred upon Sir Allan MacNab. First we behold him as Clerk in the Legislative Assembly; afterwards its Speaker; then a Knight; subsequently Premier; then a Baronet; and finally Aide-de-camp to the Queen, and attendant upon the Prince of Wales during his tour through the Province. Sir Allan was a hale, good-looking, rubicund personage, not what may be termed exactly an old man, being only in his 65th year. A few days prior to his death he seemed in excellent health and spirits. The last public act he performed was the signing of a writ appointing a new election for the Niagara district. A brief illness, consequent upon an attack of gastric fever, terminated this eminent statesman's existence.

The deceased baronet first married (in May, 1821) Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant Daniel Brook, who died in 1825, by whom he had two children, one son and a daughter. The former died in 1834, and the latter married, in 1849,

Assistant Commissary-General Davenport. Sir Allan was again allied (in 1846) to Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. Sheriff Stewart, by whom he had issue two daughters, the eldest of whom married the Right Hon. Viscount Bury, eldest son of the Earl of Albemarle. The younger daughter, was married in 1861, to a son of Sir Dominick Daly, Governor of South Australia. This concise sketch of Sir Allan MacNab's career exhibits him in a prominent and even distinguished light, as a soldier, a lawyer, and a politician. As a permanent and active leader in the affairs of our Canadian dependency, and associated with all the stirring events of the past half-century, his loss was deeply felt by many who had witnessed the same scenes and taken part in the same events.

While inclined from a feeling of delicacy to abide by the maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, still I cannot refrain from mentioning that Sir Allan MacNab's career was characterised by anything but a high sense of political honour or even commercial probity. There were some ugly blemishes in his character, which have left a stigma on his name. Yet, for these defects due allowance must be made when we take into consideration the condition of society wherein he moved; and that the acts of public men are not,

apparently, governed by such strict laws of morality in Canada as in England.

The unseemly and indecorous scenes that occurred just previous to the death, and at the burial of Sir Allan MacNab, justly provoked much comment and animadversion throughout the Province. It was alleged that Sir Allan embraced the tenets of Romanism, when in *articulo mortis*; a statement which Mr. Geddes, the Protestant clergyman of the parish, distinctly disavowed, but one which Dr. Farrell, the Roman Catholic bishop, as assiduously maintained. The testimony of the former is, however, borne out by cogent confirmatory evidence; that of the latter rests merely upon dubious representations. Manifestly, the weight of evidence is favourable to the Protestant champion, who asserts (and his testimony is supported by trustworthy witnesses), that after the Roman Catholic prelate had visited Sir Allan, and, as was alleged, received the dying baronet "into the bosom of the Church," he entered the solemn chamber and held such converse with the sick man as left no doubt in his mind that Sir Allan had died, as he had lived, a consistent member of the Anglican communion. Perhaps it may be advisable to re-produce a portion of Mr. Geddes's statement, for the satisfaction of such of the defunct baronet's friends

in England as may not be acquainted with the facts, before I proceed to comment upon that of Bishop Farrell.

Mr. Geddes affirms:—"When I entered Sir Allan's chamber I found him lying with his lips closed and the expression of his features quite natural. In the room, and close around his couch, were about seven individuals, including Mrs. Stuart, and Miss MacNab (sister of Sir Allan), Doctors Craigie and Hamilton, two or three servants, and Mrs. Boulton, a Roman Catholic lady. I approached and addressed Sir Allan earnestly by name. He opened his eyes, and looked full and intelligently upon me. I asked him if he knew me? He replied 'Yes.' I asked him who I was? He replied, 'Geddes, to be sure!' I asked if he was glad to see me? He answered with emotion that he was 'very glad,' and held out his hand to me. I told him I had made three attempts to see him the day before, but had been refused; but now being beside his dying bed, I wished to ask him a few questions. He expressed his readiness to hear, but said 'make it short,' meaning, I imagine, that there was no time for delay, and the sooner it was done the better."

Having put some doctrinal questions to Sir Allan, which were answered in the affirmative,

Mr. Geddes resumed:—"Then, Sir Allan, let me ask you, and let me understand you distinctly, Do you desire to die in the faith of your fathers, in that church wherein you were born and baptized—the church in which you have been brought up, and in which you have communicated?" Mrs. Boulton here interposed, and asked in a soft and not very audible voice, 'You die a Catholic?' meaning a Romanist. There was no response. I resumed, 'Do you desire to die in the pure and reformed faith of the Church of England, for which our martyred forefathers perished at the stake?' He replied earnestly and distinctly, 'That's what I do.' I said, 'I rejoice to hear you say so.' I then turned to the bystanders and said, 'I call you all to bear witness to this declaration of Sir Allan on his dying bed.' I then observed, 'Do you desire your body to be disposed of according to the rites of that church?' To this he signified his assent, but while doing so, Mr. Andrew Stuart, his brother-in-law, rushed to the head of his bed, looked angrily at me, and replied, 'Mr. Geddes, I am not going to allow this.' "

I would much prefer flinging a veil over the subsequent proceedings in the dying baronet's chamber, did not the interests of truth demand that they should be made known. When Sir

Allan's spiritual adviser said "Let us pray," he was interrupted by Mrs. MacNab, who knelt down and prayed aloud from some Roman Catholic book of devotion. Having finished, Mr. Geddes essayed to repeat the appointed service from his manual, when this lady turned round upon him, observing, "Oh! Mr. Geddes, do not disturb Sir Allan, he has been prepared for death." But he insisted, notwithstanding, that he should not be interrupted in the discharge of his solemn duties, and succeeded in going through the service.

After a while, Mrs. Boulton entered the apartment holding in her hand a Romanist prayer-book, from which she read two or three pages in a loud voice; seemingly the form of prayer for the dying. When this lady had finished, the Protestant clergyman called upon all present to kneel down and join him, while he "commended the soul of our dear brother to God, according to the form appointed by the Church of England." To his surprise this request was acceded to in mute astonishment by those who stood around Sir Allan's bed. The "Commendation" was then repeated without any interruption. About this time the dying man exclaimed, "Oh! when will the end come!" He then waxed feebler, his eyes became fixed, and he grew insensible. Meanwhile Bishop Farrell arrived, and indecently

insisted upon Mr. Geddes leaving the room. This he refused to do, and in return requested the bishop to retire. Mr. and Mrs. Stuart took the part of the prelate, but the Protestant clergyman remained obstinately persistent. Finally, the clerical belligerents were prevailed upon to adjourn to another apartment. A few minutes afterwards, Sir Allan, whose dying moments were thus unseemly disturbed, breathed his last. Appended to the published document of Mr. Geddes, are the declarations of the deceased baronet's sister, and a note from Dr. Craigie, certifying to its substantial accuracy.

The Roman Catholic dignitary, on the other hand, published a prolix and inconsequent statement, skilfully framed, however, but resting wholly and solely upon that prelate's unsupported, highly-coloured, and manifestly prejudiced testimony. He alleges that during a conversation he had had with Sir Allan, several months before his demise, upon the subject of religion, the latter had signified to him his secret adherence to the Roman Church, and his intention of dying in her fold. Such an admission on the part of Bishop Farrell is not honourable to his cause, while it impugns the character for consistency of one who, if he did not make this virtue the crowning characteristic of his public



and private life, nevertheless respected it in others.

It is little short of preposterous to imagine that while Sir Allan MacNab professed strong attachment to the doctrines of the Anglican Church, attended her public manifestations, and occasionally partook of the sacrament at her altars, he should at the same time secretly have given in his adhesion to the tenets of a rival communion, and have gone so far as to signify his intention of dying a "convert" to her principles and teachings. This would mean, in effect, that he would lie till he was about to die, and then seek reconciliation with and absolution of a church whose claims upon his faith and conscience he had pusilanimously ignored during his life! The bishop, on his own showing, treated this alleged statement of Sir Allan's as a matter of course, and came, when called, to his death-bed to complete the wicked falsehood! It only proves how some religionists "compass sea and land to make one proselyte"—none more so than the priests of the Romish persuasion. If the story be true, there could not be a more striking commentary on the practices of that church of which Bishop Farrell is so zealous a representative. The gist of the bishop's remarks is, that on the Sunday immediately preceding the baronet's demise, he

called at the Castle, and had a brief interview with the dying man; that when about to take leave, Sir Allan seized his arm, at the same time stating he had not forgotten what he had said some time before, which the bishop construes as referring to the conversation in the Castle garden upon the subject of the baronet's conversion; that on the Thursday following, in the presence of Mrs. MacNab and Mr. Andrew Stuart, he received him into the church, according to the usual formula, after having made his solemn profession of "the Catholic faith," and his confession "after the manner of Catholics;" and finally that he, the bishop, remained in the house from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon. It was asserted that while under the influence of morphia, the Roman Catholic prelate was smuggled into Sir Allan's residence, and that while perfectly unconscious of what was transpiring around him, some ceremonies were gone through, and the dying baronet proclaimed a "convert to the Catholic faith." All the concurrent testimony goes to prove that Sir Allan was really incapable of intelligently changing his faith on the day preceding his death, and great blame was attached, and apparently with justice, to a near relative of the deceased.

On the day of the defunct baronet's funeral,

a deplorable occurrence took place that disturbed the solemnity of the occasion. A number of distinguished personages, including judges, members of the legislature and of the bar, in addition to a large concourse of private citizens, assembled to do the last sad honours to the departed statesman, whose loss was so severely felt and extensively deplored. The *cortége* having arrived at the Cemetery, a rumour gained credence that the funeral rites of the Roman Catholic instead of the Anglican Church would be performed at the burial. This appeared all the more extraordinary as Sir Allan was considered, during his life, a staunch adherent to Protestant principles. An intense scene of excitement occurred. Indeed so highly was the sensibility of the mourners affected, that most of them withdrew from the celebration of the sad obsequies. Sir Allan's sister-in-law, from her position of executrix, was of course enabled to carry out the alleged wishes of her deceased relative; and, accordingly, the Roman Catholic bishop officiated at the mournful ceremony. Public feeling in Upper Canada was greatly irritated by this strange and unfortunate event; and the press did its part towards intensifying the sentiment of religious animosity which always prevails, in a greater or lesser degrees among certain sections of

the Canadian people. The scene at the funeral was only the last act of a drama which, for the honour of all parties concerned, should not have been enacted. Sir Allan MacNab had a stormy and eventful life; he should at least have found a respite in the grave.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE INTER-COLONIAL RAILWAY.

Origin of the Important Scheme—Interest taken in the Undertaking by the British Government at various times—Promises but no Performances—Extent of Line formed by the Canadian Government—Conference of the Executive Representatives of the Three Provinces—Length and Expense of the Line to Complete the Communication—Winter March of the British Troops from Halifax to Canada—Difficulties as to Routes for the Projected Railway—The Trade of Canada in Relation to the Sister Provinces—Circular of the Finance Minister—Monopoly of Colonial Trade by American Shipowners.

EARLY in the month of September the seat of Government was honoured by the presence of several distinguished visitors. These embraced the Earl of Mulgrave, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia ; the Honourable Mr. Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick ; and the Honourable Messrs. Howe and Tilley, Premiers of their respective Provinces. The principal object of their visit was to consult with the Canadian Government upon the course most desirable to pursue towards promoting the long contemplated Inter-colonial Railway. This sub-

ject has had a sort of chronic existence from the time of the Rebellion ; but at no period had the settlement of the question been more urgent than when unpleasant relations between the States and Great Britain were considered possible, if not probable. An easy and direct communication with Halifax and its intermediate localities would confer manifest advantages, especially upon Lower Canada, and greatly stimulate the trade of Quebec. The completion of a trunk line through the main Provinces of British North America, would not only facilitate the growth of the Western grain traffic—so retarded during the winter season, when navigation becomes closed—but would aid the respective colonies in lending a helping hand for their mutual defence. And perhaps there is no method by which that defence could be better provided for, or gain a more powerful auxiliary, than by the completion of a railroad through British territory.

Lord Melbourne's administration, upon the establishment of Transatlantic steam navigation in 1838, originated the important idea of connecting the Upper with the Lower Provinces of English America. Lord Durham also in his Report on Canada, strongly recommended the construction of a railway between Halifax and Quebec. Subsequently, Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone,

when Colonial Secretary, organised a survey for a railroad, to the expense of which exploration the Provinces liberally contributed 30,000/. The survey and report were so favourable to the project, that the Home Government pledged themselves to recommend Parliament to guarantee a minimum rate of interest on the capital requisite for its construction, or else to advance the necessary funds from the Imperial treasury. However, before any action had been taken in the matter, the Ministry went out of office. Succeeding administrations renewed the promises and expectations of former Governments ; but in one case the project fell into abeyance on a question of route ; and in the other, a rupture with Russia caused the subject to be set temporarily aside.

Meanwhile the Colonial authorities, relying upon ministerial assurances, went to work vigorously, and from their own unaided resources actually formed two hundred and eighty-four miles of the Halifax line, besides extending the Grand Trunk one hundred and fourteen miles below Quebec on the same route, leaving only about three hundred and fifty miles to complete the important scheme, which has so frequently, both by memorials and petitions, been pressed upon the Imperial Government. All this has

been done at a cost to the Provinces of 3,111,500*l.* sterling, involving an annual charge upon their respective Revenues to the extent of 186,000*l.* Having accomplished so much, Canada and her sister dependencies found that they could prosecute the undertaking no further without Imperial aid ; and again they renewed their application, when, unfortunately, the Indian mutiny interfered, so that the Government were compelled to postpone its consideration.

A Conference of the Executive representatives of the three Provinces was held on Wednesday, September 17th, and following days, in the Council Chamber. The distinguished persons who composed the assembly consisted of Lords Monck and Mulgrave, the Canadian Cabinet, the Honourable Messrs. Howe and Tilley, in addition to the Honourable Messrs. McNally and Dennan, delegates from Nova Scotia, and the Honourable Messrs. Mitchell and Steeves, delegates from New Brunswick.

The cost of constructing junction lines between Truro and Shediac, and between Frederickton and Rivière du Loup, is estimated at three millions sterling. A proposal has been made to the Imperial Government by the three Provinces interested, that if they would guarantee a minimum rate of interest at four per cent. on the



outlay (120,000*l.* per annum), the Colonial Government would each charge their respective revenues with the payment of 20,000*l.* to meet the interest on capital invested, should the scheme not prove remunerative. In addition to this guarantee of 60,000*l.* a right of way is offered for the entire road through public and private property, together with ten miles of ungranted land on either side of the line.

A like sum of 60,000*l.* annually is asked of the Imperial Government for the conveyance of mails, troops, and military stores. But in reality England would have the payment of this amount at her disposal by the saving she would effect. For example, over 70,000*l.* are annually disbursed by the British Government, in subsidies to the United States and the Cunard Company for Atlantic mail service. The gross cost is indeed 189,500*l.*; but of this about 112,000*l.* are received in postage. These services could with advantage be transferred to the projected line. Besides, as Halifax happens to be five hundred miles nearer to our shores, the States would only be too willing to pay twenty or thirty thousand pounds for the transmission of their mails by this route. Consequently, England would be many thousand pounds the gainer by the arrangement, supposing even that the line did not prove self-sustain-

ing or the Provinces faithful to their engagement. Of the latter, however, there can be no doubt, judging from experience.

Seventeen years since, this country gave a guarantee of one million five hundred thousand pounds for Canada, towards the completion of her canals. In evidence of her good faith it is only necessary to state that the whole amount has been raised by our colony four years ago, and is now in the hands of the British Government, for the redemption of bonds as they fall due. Nor has the Imperial exchequer been called upon to contribute the smallest sum in liquidation of that guarantee. Assuredly, Canada is not less able now to fulfil an honourable monetary engagement than she has hitherto been.

At present, the military expenses of the colonies entail upon this country an outlay of about four hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. Reinforcements cannot be dispatched to Canada without the St. Lawrence is navigable ; and a sufficient force has to be maintained in time of peace so as to hold the various garrisons for six months in case of war. This expense would be vastly diminished were there uninterrupted railway communication between Halifax and Quebec. With such a connecting link ten thousand troops could, in case of emergency, be dispatched from one point to another in twenty-

four hours. By the present, and only available mode of transit, it is impossible to move more than one hundred men together, and at the rate of thirty miles a day; so that a regiment starting from Halifax would take three weeks to reach Quebec. The difficulty can scarcely be overrated of transporting troops and warlike munitions for three hundred and fifty miles, through a bleak wilderness, over narrow roads, covered eight feet high with snow, and the thermometer having the mercury frozen!

The march from Nova Scotia to Canada, during the winter of 1862, severely tested the temper and endurance of British troops. I subjoin a few condensed extracts, from some notes taken by Lieutenant Lynch J. Keogh, of the Military Train, on that memorable occasion; and which were supplied to me by that officer while in the Province:—

“Feb. 17.—Left Halifax in steamer for St. John’s, N.B., all of us being greatly pleased at taking leave of Nova Scotia, where officers, non-commissioned officers, and men were alike much knocked about—a circumstance almost unavoidable, owing to the large number of troops arriving by each steamer from Europe. A field-officer, upon inquiring where his officers where to go, was tersely told ‘anywhere they liked;’

upon which one facetious fellow suggested 'tents,' and the glass below zero !

"Feb. 18.—Arrived at 6 p.m., at St. John's, N.B., after an unusually quick passage of twenty-seven hours. Weather intensely cold, with snow. The coast between Nova Scotia and Long Island abounds with rocks hidden by water, which, together with frequent snow storms, render the navigation difficult, if not dangerous.

"Feb. 19.—Disembarked at 10 a.m. Two troops got into sleighs ready for them at the wharf, and set off for Petersville, a distance of thirty miles. Each sleigh accommodated eight men, and was drawn by two wretched horses.

"Feb. 20.—From two to five feet of snow on the ground, with a bitter cold wind, and just sufficient light to observe large wet flakes of snow falling from a grey and heavy-laden sky. Every one white with snow, shapeless in figure, and almost unrecognisable. Could only travel at a very slow pace, the roads being nearly blocked up. After some time we reached Grand Bay, which is crossed on the ice. Our teamsters (French Canadians) however, insisted to a man that they would not risk crossing, fearing from the great depth of the snow and the severity of the storm, that they would miss the track indicated by branches of fir trees stuck in the snow, about one

hundred yards apart. The Quarter-Master General, who drove as far as this, ordered our return; so about 2 p.m. we reached St. John's, looking more like lumps of ice than living beings. On our return the wood yards were closed, and some could get no fires made until a kind citizen, hearing of our privation, forwarded a supply.

“Feb. 21.—Prepared to set off again. The men had just taken their seats in the sleighs when a telegram arrived, conveying the grim intelligence that the roads were impassable, and that two troops, who had left a day or two before, had got no further than Acomacto, between Petersville and Frederickton, where they were actually snowed up.

“Feb. 22.—At 7 p.m. prepared to set off again. Snow falling, but weather more moderate. Roads very heavy, the snow in some places being six feet above the ordinary level. After a few hours we crossed Grand Bay—a glittering sea of ice eight miles in extent. Here we were surrounded by mountains covered from base to summit with tall trees, all alike enveloped in snow. I asked our teamster if there was any danger in crossing a bay which, when thawed, floats the largest ships? ‘Yes,’ he observed, ‘now and then. Some years since the mail sleigh got on it during a snow storm; the driver missed the track, and sleigh,

mail horses, and all were lost in an air hole.’ At 5 p.m. we arrived at Petersville—30 miles—where we were all stowed away in a log hut, the only available accommodation the place could afford. We cooked our dinners as well as possible, and lay for the night on the ground, side by side, covered with rugs, blankets, buffalo skins, etc., presenting anything but a picturesque appearance.

“Feb. 23.—Sunday. Breakfasted on tea, and cold hard eggs. Got our men into sleighs about 7 a.m. and moved off. Weather bitterly cold with snow. At 6 p.m. arrived at Frederickton, which consists of one extended street, lying along the river St. John. At the hotel we were charged exorbitantly, and very badly accommodated; but after twelve hours sleighing, and the glass below zero, we cared for little beside warmth and rest.

“Feb. 24.—At 7.30 a.m. left Frederickton for Tilley’s—a half-way house to Woodstock. The morning being extremely cold and windy. At 5 p.m. we arrived at the termination of our twenty-nine miles of march, each of us being cold, jaded, and hungry. Accommodation here is very bad; worse than that any log hut might supply, officers and men being packed together, like pigs on board an Irish steamer. With the exception of the commanding officer and the next senior, eight of the officers had to lie side by side on the floor,

and the men had to shift as well as they could with quarters or without.

“Feb. 25.—Up at 7 a.m. Weather unbearably cold. We try to get an ablution, but discover that there are but two basins between ten of us, and that water is difficult to be procured. All night it has been blowing and snowing hard, and the teamsters refuse to proceed. Unless covered securely from head to foot not a man of us could stand in the air for a moment without being frozen. Passed a comfortless day.

“Feb. 26.—Left for Woodstock at 6.30 a.m., the weather being still very bleak. Roads heavy and difficult to get over. In several instances we had to cut through massive trees that were blown down across the road to which they had become frozen, and again repeatedly through snow drifts over seven feet high. After much trouble we arrived at our destination, a distance of thirty-two miles, at 7.30 p.m. Here we were comfortably accommodated, but, as usual, charged exorbitantly.

“Feb. 27.—Set off from Woodstock for Florenceville at 7.30 a.m., weather clear, but cold. During our journey had to cut through some heavy drifts, at one or two of which our drivers consulted together about the advisability of proceeding further. At one of these drifts we had



twenty-five men at either end, and full two hours elapsed ere they could cut a passage through. Four miles further and we reached an almost impassable barrier, so that the teamsters growled exceedingly, observing that 'the roads were too bad to get forward.' Horses were removed from the sleighs and carried by the troops safely over the drift. At 9.30 p.m. we arrived at Florenceville. At the inn we were charged excessively, viz., two and a-half dollars, or ten shillings sterling, for bed, breakfast, and dinner, and twelve and a-half cents. a glass for beer.

"Feb. 28.—At 7 a.m. started for Tobique; weather cold, and roads indifferent. We encountered no obstructions, as the party who preceded us cut through all the drifts, which in some instances reached to the top of the telegraph poles. About 4 p.m. we arrived at Tobique, a march of twenty-three miles. Here the officers and men were well treated, and not overcharged as heretofore; a circumstance I attribute to the landlord of the inn being an Englishman.

"March 1.—Left for Grand Falls, a twenty-four miles' march. Weather more mild, and roads better than usual. The entire country mantled in snow, so that nothing was seen but the tops of interminable snake pines. At 4 p.m. got to the end of our march.

"March 2.—At 6 a.m. left for Little Falls, a



journey of thirty-six miles; weather fine but extremely cold. Crossed the river St. John, a quarter of a mile above the Falls. Shortly after leaving Grand Falls we came amid French settlements. One side of the river is the State of Maine; and a wide path is observable, within a forest, to mark the boundary between it and New Brunswick. At 5 p.m. we arrived at our destination. The river St. John being but one hundred yards wide, some of the officers walked across, and for the first time set foot on the ex-United States' soil. Only two beds could be procured; consequently the rest of us had to sleep in a room on the floor, for which accommodation, including a couple of miserable meals, we had to pay two and a-half dollars.

“March 3.—This morning left Little Falls for Fortingale, on Lake Tenniscouata—a march of forty miles. Upon leaving the river Madawaska, we came to the boundary line between New Brunswick and Canada. Instead of the wretched snow path through the former Province, you now find a fine wide snow-road, as level and good as any highway in England. In Fortingale there are but few houses; but the lake scenery is agreeable. The inn is a frightful place, the proprietor being a French Canadian, a most ——— rascal—who fleeced us fearfully.

“March 4.—Left for Rivière du Loup, another

march of forty miles, which place we reached at 5.30 p.m.; all of us delighted to find our protracted and wearisome journey brought to an end. Officers and men were well put up here. Hotel good and charges moderate.

“March 5 to 7.—Snowed up at Rivière du Loup, the railway carriages being unable to proceed.

“March 8.—This morning, the lines having been cleared, we started for Montreal, which place we reached the next day. Until suitable accommodation was provided we had to sojourn at an hotel, without the usual allowance being granted to us, although claimed; a similar refusal of five shillings per day, to which officers are entitled by Royal Warrant while detained in a town or on the march, was likewise refused by the military authorities at Halifax.”

These extracts from my friend's diary will afford a tolerably accurate idea of the difficulties, dangers, and delay, consequent upon transporting troops in the depth of winter from Halifax to Canada. They likewise exhibit the necessity for a railway communication between both Provinces.

During the Conference a knotty point arose in the discussion of the Inter-colonial Railway question. This had special reference to the exact route to be selected for the road. The delegates

of Nova Scotia felt no hesitation in deciding this matter, neither did those of Canada; but the difficulty was created by the representatives of New Brunswick herself. Consequently it was decided to leave the absolute choice of route to a commission of four gentlemen, who should be selected by the governments of the three Provinces; two Commissioners representing Canada, and the others Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively. Provision was likewise made for the appointment of an umpire in case any dispute should arise to justify such an appeal; a contingency not at all improbable, considering the collision of antagonistic interests likely to become developed.

A survey for the projected line of communication, as I have already stated, was conducted by Major Robinson, during 1847-48, at the instigation of the Imperial Government. The gallant major, judging from his report, approved of carrying the railway along the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, instead of by a more direct central route, which would lessen the distance by nearly fifty miles. It can scarcely be doubted that his preference for a remote circuitous line may be partially ascribed to his anxiety to keep it as far as practicable from the American frontier. The total distance from Halifax to Quebec, *viâ* the Gulf, is about six hundred and thirty miles, ac-

cording to Major Robinson's calculation. Since the date of his report, however, sections of railway from Quebec to Rivière du Loup, and from Halifax to Truro, have been constructed, making in the aggregate one hundred and seventy miles. Hence, but four hundred and seventy miles of road would have to be built in order to complete the connection.

Some persons favour what is termed the central route, of which no official survey has been made. As a portion of the projected line would pass by this route over portions of the European and North American Railway, the actual distance necessary to be constructed would be curtailed about seventy-four miles. Then the route *viâ* the River St. John had been spoken of as most feasible, thereby attracting much attention in the immediate localities bordering upon particular districts through which that current winds. The advantages claimed by the advocates of this scheme are, that such a route would amalgamate with the railways already in operation, and complete the proposed systems, requiring forty-one miles less new work than the central line, and one hundred and fifteen miles less than that *viâ* the Gulf. These partisans notwithstanding seemed to be either ignorant of, or to ignore the facts, that the St. John line exceeds the central line by

one hundred and fifteen miles, and that *via* the Gulf by sixty-three miles, which it would have to pass for two hundred miles in the vicinity of the American boundary—a highly important consideration, which, regarded in a defensive point of view, must certainly possess serious weight with the Imperial authorities.

Annexed is a recapitulation, in a tabular form, of the respective distances of the three competitive projects from Truro to Rivière du Loup, taken from a report presented to the government by Mr. Light, an engineer occupying an influential professional position in New Brunswick :

NO I.—MAJOR ROBINSON'S NORTH SHORE LINE.

	Miles.
Truro to Bay Verte - - - - -	69
Bay Verte to Shediac - - - - -	26
Shediac to Indianatown, Miramichi River - - - - -	74
Indianatown to Bathurst - - - - -	56
Bathurst to Dalhousi - - - - -	48
Dalhousi to Mouth of Metapediac River - - - - -	30
Metapediac to Naset River, branch of Metis - - - - -	86
Naset River to Rivière du Loup - - - - -	81
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Truro to Rivière du Loup - - - - -	470

NO. II.—CENTRAL ROUTE.

Truro to Bay Verte - - - - -	69
Bay Verte to Intersection of European and North American Railway - - - - -	24
Along European and North American Railway - - - - -	22
Thence to Boiestown - - - - -	75
Boiestown to Miramichi Lake - - - - -	30
Miramichi Lake to Waggon Portage - - - - -	75
Waggon Portage to Edmonston - - - - -	27
Edmonston to Rivière du Loup - - - - -	96
<hr/>	<hr/>
	418
Deduct road already made - - - - -	22
<hr/>	<hr/>
Road to be made - - - - -	396

No. III.—ST. JOHN RIVER ROUTE.					Miles
Truro to Bay Verte	-	-	-	-	69
Bay Verte to Intersection of European and North American Railway	-	-	-	-	24
Along said Railway to St. John	-	-	-	-	102
St. John to Inte section of St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway	-	-	-	-	62
Along Quebec Railway to Woodstock	-	-	-	-	75
Woodstock to Grand Falls	-	-	-	-	65
Grand Falls to Edmonston	-	-	-	-	39
Edmonston to Rivière du Loup	-	-	-	-	96
					<hr/> 532
Of this 75 and 102 miles are already made	-	-	-	-	177
Road to be formed	-	-	-	-	<hr/> 355

Whatever route from Quebec to Halifax may ultimately be decided upon, one thing is certain that the Government of Canada undertook to build and maintain five-twelfths of the road. It is only to be regretted that the prosecution of so important an undertaking should have been postponed, owing, amongst other reasons, to some difficulty about adjusting the expenses of a new survey. The Inter-colonial Railroad, apart from mercantile considerations and advantages, has become a military necessity, and the Canadian government feeling this, decisively and readily responded to the proposition of the Colonial Secretary. Access to the Atlantic is urgently needed during the winter months; the means of military connection with England needs to be secured; and it is only by means of the projected railway that such necessary and desirable ends can be obtained.

While the Conference was holding its sittings the Minister of Finance issued an elaborate tabulated circular, which was privately distributed amongst the Executive Council and the delegates of the other Provinces, relative to one of the topics which engaged its attention, viz., the trade of Canada in relation to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. As the Honourable Mr. Howland kindly favoured me with a copy, I am enabled to give the following details :

The report contains thirteen tables, all of which are very exhaustive. The first three illustrate the Canadian export and import trade with the sister colonies for the four preceding years ; and so far afford results as important as they are satisfactory. The total imports into Canada by the St. Lawrence from the Lower Provinces amounted in 1858 to 317,148 dollars ; in 1859 to 352,222 dollars ; in 1860 to 415,812 dollars ; and in 1861 to 478,130 dollars ; forming respectively 1.45 per cent., 1.13 per cent., 1.14 per cent., and 1.15 per cent. of the entire imports of the Province.

The exports from Canada to the English American Colonies were, in 1858, 960,428 dols. ; in 1859, 840,475 dollars ; in 1860, 723,534 dollars ; and in 1861, 1,030,939 dollars ; or respectively 4.08 per cent., 3.39 per cent., 2.08 per



cent., and 2.84 per cent. of the total exports. The excess of exports over imports for the same period of four years was 536,602 dollars; 459,720 dollars; 329,670 dollars; and 531,962 dollars.

Table iv. gives a statistical view of the entire export and import trade of the five colonies for 1860 and 1861, estimated from the various official returns. By this it appears that in 1860 the imports per head of the population were: Canada, 18 dols. 73 c.; Nova Scotia, 25 dols. 72 c.; New Brunswick, 27 dols. 55 c.; Prince Edward's Island, 13 dols. 65 c.; and Newfoundland, 49 dols. 76 c. Table v. exhibits in contrast the tariffs of the several Provinces; the articles selected for comparison being such on which duty had been collected to the extent of 10,000 dols., and comprising  $94\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. of the whole. Mr. Howland affirms that with a more extended trade between Canada and the Lower Provinces, the Canadians could compete, not with British manufacturers, but with those of the Federal States. Hence he devotes tables vi. vii. viii. and ix. to show the exact nature of the imports from America to each colony; the aggregate result of which he gives in table x. These imports consist of two kinds, viz., free goods (chiefly under the Reciprocity Treaty) and dutiable commodities. The following table shows the amount of im-



ports and exports from and to the States during the year 1860 :

IMPORTS.				Dollars.
Nova Scotia	.	.	.	2,687,530
New Brunswick	.	.	.	3,303,441
Prince Edward's Island	.	.	.	270,860
Newfoundland	.	.	.	1,744,501
Total	.	.	.	7,956,332
EXPORTS.				
Nova Scotia	.	.	.	1,523,555
New Brunswick	.	.	.	1,192,214
Prince Edward's Island	.	.	.	376,348
Newfoundland	.	.	.	403,954
				3,496,091

It was stated as an indisputable fact, though not mentioned in the report, that the total imports of these Provinces from the States, of articles which Canada might supply, were, speaking in round numbers, equal to the aggregate exports from Canada to the States.

Tables xi. and xii. exhibit how trifling would be the immediate loss of revenue if the proposition suggested by the Finance Minister were adopted ; for, as the report observes, " Regulations would, of course, be framed for the protection of the revenue of each colony, to prevent the free admission of other goods than those coming within the scope of the convention."

Shortly after the preparation of the *brochure* the communication had with the Imperial authorities eventuated in an expression of their ap-

proval of the plan which had received the preliminary sanction of the three Provinces.

The formation of an Inter-colonial Railway would prove of immense commercial importance to this country, as well as to our colonial empire. About five millions sterling of British manufactures find their way annually into Canada. This gives, amongst a spare population of two and a half millions, about twenty shillings per head more than for the people of the United States, even before the Morrill tariff or the civil war restricted our commerce. Already our exports to Canada nearly equal those to the States—war materials excluded. Not less than ten millions sterling of the Canadian trade passes through America every year; while, if access could be had to English ports in the Atlantic, it would prevent nearly the whole carrying trade of the Province from being monopolized by American shipowners. Canadian broadstuffs to the amount of another half-a-million sterling a year are drawn through the States by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Our “frozen frontier” in English America is, not only in a military but commercial sense, at the mercy of a very ugly, saucy, vacillating, and dangerous neighbour. As one writer tersely remarks, in alluding to conflicting American and Canadian interests:—

“The States can pass transit duties, discriminating duties, prohibitory duties; they can, in fact, close our and Canada’s through trade altogether; they can terminate the postal treaty, and just drop Canada back into the age when railways were unknown for the transmission of letters. But once complete the proposed communication between the Provinces, and all those evils vanish. With an independent line through British territory from Halifax to Lake Huron—fourteen hundred miles transit—discriminating, prohibitory, nay, even protective duties, are utterly impossible; no argument, no treaty, no favour would so certainly secure free trade between this country and the United States as the completion of this railway route.”

Before the departure from Quebec of the Honourable Messrs. Howe and Tilley a private complimentary dinner was given to them by the Premier, at the Stadacona Club. To this I had the privilege of being formally invited. Several members of the Administration were present, in addition to Baron Boilleau, Consul-General of France. Of course I was duly presented to the distinguished guests from the sister Provinces, with whose ingenuous characters and sterling qualities I was highly impressed. These gentlemen were not charged with any special mission to

Canada, although their visit bore an informal relation to renewed negotiations on the subject of the Inter-colonial Railway. Since then I had the pleasure of occasionally meeting with Messrs. Howe and Tilley in London, while they were on an official embassy to this country. I only regret that the important project they seemed to have so much at heart, and for the accomplishment of which they have laboured so assiduously, should have been even temporarily abandoned. It appears, however, that Mr. Sandford Fleming commenced his survey of the route for the projected railway early this year over the snow, which is said to have been a help and not a hindrance in some parts of the work. Such a favourable sign of action begets the hope that the long-wished for Inter-colonial Railway will be, ere long, not an ideality, but a reality.

END OF VOL. I.











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